

Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature

Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009

Edited by

S. Bar, D. Kahn and JJ Shirley

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Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations Used in the Text

CG	Catalogue General du Caire
JE	Journal d'Entrée
TT	Theban Tomb
EA	El Amarna

Journal and Series Abbreviations

ÄA	Ägyptologische Abhandlungen
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament, Wiesbaden
AEO	Gardiner, A. H. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1947
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
ÄL	*Ägypten und Levante*
ANET	Pritchard J. (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 3rd ed. with supplement. Princeton, 1969
AnSt	*Anatolian Studies*
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ARCE Reports	*American Research Center in Egypt Reports*
ASE	Archaeological Survey of Egypt
AV	Archäologische Veröffentlichungen
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BACE	*Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Études, IFAO
BES	*Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*
BMSAES	*British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan*
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société française d'Égyptologie*
CAA	Corpus antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CdÉ	*Chronique d'Égypte*
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
DE	*Discussions in Egyptology*
GM	*Göttinger Miszellen*
HÄB	Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge
HAR	*Hebrew Annual Review*

IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IFAO	Institut Française d'Arcéologie Orientale
IOS	*Israel Oriental Studies*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEgH	*Journal of Egyptian History*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
JSSEA	*Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*
KRI	K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*, 7 vols. Oxford, 1968 – 1988
KS	*Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel,* München
LÄ	*Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1975-1987
MÄS	Münchner ägyptologische Studien
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abt. Kairo*
MDOG	*Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MRTO	Schulman A. *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom, Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 6*, Berlin, 1964
N.A.B.U.	*Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires*
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Freiburg
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensa Analecta
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
Or	*Orientalia*
PdO	Probleme der Ägyptologie
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PJ	*Palästina-Jahrbuch*
PMMA	Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition
RdÉ	*Revue d'Égyptologie*

RecTrav	*Recueil de traveaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie*
SAGA	Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte Altägyptens
SAK	*Studien Zur Altägyptischen Kultur*
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBLM	Society of Biblical Literature Monographs
SMEA	*Studia Miceni ed Egeo-Anatolici*
SSEA Newsletter	*Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities Newsletter*
TA	*Tel Aviv*
TAVO	Tübingen Atlas der Vorderer Orient
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
TZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
UF	*Ugarit Forschungen*
Urk.	Sethe K. et al., *Urkunden des ägyptiscen Altertums*, Leipzig, 1906
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WB	Erman, A. and Grapow, H. *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Archäologie*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

Introduction

It was during one of the coffee breaks at the 9th International Congress of Egyptologists in Grenoble in 2004 that Dr. Yossi Mizrachi raised the idea of hosting a conference about the interconnections between Egypt and Canaan at the University of Haifa. The conference materialized when Prof. Adam Zertal of the Department of Archaeology saw the opportunity to introduce his unique finds of the Manasseh Hill Survey with their Egyptian background to the Egyptological scholarly world. Dr. Shay Bar from the Department of Archaeology and Prof. Nili Shupak of the Department of Biblical Studies soon joined the organizing committee.

One could rightly ask: "Why have another conference about Egypt, Canaan and Israel?" The number of these types of meetings is impressive, and no doubt the organizers always mean the best. However, many of these gatherings suffer from an overburden of talks, speeches, lectures, *etc.* – and little time left for discussions and free exchange of opinions.

The conference was held at a perfect location – on top of the Carmel Mountain, with a view over the Jezreel Valley, Akko Plain and the Mediterranean Sea – the precise regions in which some of the most crucial interrelations between Egypt and Canaan have occurred. Encounters of various sorts, military as well as diplomatic, administrative and economic occurred in this region, presently the north of Israel, formerly the heart of Canaan. These encounters, some of them among the most famous events in Egyptian history, are consistently studied all over the world and included in every elementary program for Egyptologists. Regrettably, scholars who deal with these aspects of Egyptian history only rarely experience directly the environment in which these events occurred.

The date for the conference was carefully chosen. Even though the date almost coincided with the annual ARCE meeting held in the USA, we decided that the conference would be held at the beginning of May 2009. The reason was that the attending scholars went on an excursion in the footsteps of Thutmose III, who crossed the Arunah Pass on his way to Megiddo (as narrated in the Annals of Thutmose III), on almost the exact day that the Egyptian armies marched in order to fight against the Canaanite coalition in 1457 BCE.

The lectures were divided thematically. The first day dealt with the question of border delineation and the setting of boundary stelae during the Middle Kingdom

(Carola Vogel) and the Egyptian-Canaanite relations in the Second Intermediate Period as reflected by scarabs (Daphna Ben-Tor).

The 18th Dynasty Session dealt with Hatshepsut's economic endeavors in Sinai and the Levant, the Aegean and Punt (Yossi Mizrachi – not published in the proceedings), the Levantine women in Egypt (Deborah Sweeney – not published in the proceedings) and the oscillating relations between Amenhotep III and the Kingdom of Mitanni (Dan'el Kahn).

The Session about Ramesside archaeology and topography dealt with the significance of the Way of Horus during the Amarna Period and the beginning of the 19th Dynasty (James Hoffmeier – not published in the proceedings), while Michael Hasel dealt with the issue of scribal convention in writing foreign names and their determinatives. Eliezer Oren dealt with the administration on the Way of Horus during the end of the 19th Dynasty and the events during the reign of Sety II (not published in the proceedings). Adam Zertal showed the results of the digging campaigns at el-Ahwat, where a fortified city was identified as a settlement of the Sherden, and dated to the reign of Ramesses III.

The second day of the conference was devoted to Egypt and the Bible. Susanne Binder presented the parallels between Genesis 41 (the investiture of Joseph) and the Egyptian pictorial and textual sources from the New Kingdom. Susan Tower Hollis explored the parallelism between II Samuel 22 and the Israel Stela of Merneptah. Boyo Ockinga considered the possibility of an Egyptian influence (the account of the proclamation of Hatshepsut's kingship by her father Thutmose I) behind the names of Immanuel in Isaiah 9.5, as well as the context in which they are proclaimed. Nili Shupak explained the identity of the enigmatic figure of the personified Wisdom in Proverbs in the light of Egyptian sources (not published in the proceedings).

During the afternoon session Shirley Ben-Dor Evian challenged the conventional chronology of the campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq I against Israel and Judah. Bernd Schipper examined the literary and archaeological evidence for the Egyptian influence on the Southern Levant and the Kingdom of Judah during the 26th Dynasty, while Gunar Lehman discussed the presence of Egypt in the time between the Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian Empire based on the archaeological evidence (not published in the proceedings). Adam Zertal ended the day by presenting the recent discoveries by the Manasseh Survey in the Jordan Valley. Several "foot-shaped" enclosures, dating to the Early Iron Age were excavated and identified as the Biblical "Gilgalim".

None of the main subjects of the convention was left without a tour, so the participants were able to walk in the footsteps of the ancients and the modern explorers alike and add yet another dimension to their scholarly debate – the climate and geography of the Land of Canaan. Thus, on the third day the regular mode of scholarly discussion and occasional dozing off in formal, faint-lighted lecture halls was exchanged for a field trip, with extreme-sport challenges to recreate the physical conditions of the Egyptian army on the march to Megiddo as much as possible. The scholars experienced the hardships of the Egyptian soldier as described so aptly by the Egyptian scribes: the seasonal Khamsin with temperatures reaching 40°c (although, luckily enough, we only experienced hot discussions in the air-conditioned lecture hall on that day), climbing the hills of the foreign *ḫ3s.t* land, and the high vegetation and weeds in the Arunah Pass, which grow during the spring and hinder the easy crossing of the Pass. The participants were surprised that a fortnight before the trip, our 4wd car got stuck in the impassable Arunah Pass and was towed out at night by a tractor. On the day of trip roadblocks against car-thieves were temporarily removed and immediately replaced afterwards after our 4wd Jeeps with Adam's team of volunteer drivers passed by. The 1.5 meter high weeds were cut down to ease our walk through the Pass. All this was done by Adam's innumerable friends. Many thanks!

The Wednesday morning session concentrated on literature and historiography. Kerry Muhlestein advocated for a Levantine origin of, or a strong influence upon the well-known Egyptian story of the Shipwrecked Sailor. Daniel von Recklinghausen dealt with the question of how political and military events are presented in the official (mainly religious) Egyptian texts during Ptolemaic rule (not published in the proceedings). Marcus Müller investigated Egypt's grand strategy during the New Kingdom towards its enemies on all fronts: unbeatable empires like Mitanni and Hatti, and those enemies who could be beaten and whose territory was incorporated into the Egyptian Empire. Zadok Kraim considered the structure of logistical units and supply of the Egyptian army during its military campaigns based on modern analogies (not published in the proceedings). JJ Shirley discussed the role of the civil servants who participated on military campaigns. Ayelet Gilboa, head of the Department of Archaeology at the University of Haifa, presented the Egyptian finds from her excavation site at Tell Dor on the Mediterranean Coast (not published in the proceedings), while Amihai Mazar, who was awarded the Israel Prize

in archaeology several days earlier, summarized the excavations at Beth-Shean.

The conference was concluded on Thursday with an excursion to the Jordan Valley to see the site of Beidet esh-Shaʿab, one of the "foot-shaped" enclosures, and the ancient site of Beth-Shean.

We are grateful to the participants who attended the conference, and to the authors who submitted their papers almost on time despite the short deadline. I wholeheartedly thank the co-organizers of the conference, without whom it would not have materialized: Prof. Adam Zertal, our powerful locomotive, Prof. Nili Shupak, Dr. Yossi Mizrachi, Dr. Shay Bar and Mrs. Tami Lavyel. I also would like to thank Dr. JJ Shirley, a true friend, who accepted our request to co-edit the volume with us. Thanks also go to Xavier, her newborn son, who enabled her to keep on editing (especially during the nights). Thanks go also to our graphical editor, Sapir Haad.

Hoping that the goals of the conference have been, at least partly, achieved – we are proud to present this book to the readers, together with hopes for future meetings in the same spirit.

During the preparation of the proceedings, a dear friend and sponsor of the Conference, Mr. Danny Barak, met an unfortunate and tragic end. This volume is dedicated to his memory.

Dan'el Kahn,

Head of the Department of Biblical Studies, University of Haifa, September 2010





Faculty of Humanities
Departments of Archaeology and Biblical Studies

כנס בינלאומי בנושא: מצרים, כנען וישראל בעת העתיקה
היסטוריה, אימפריאליזם ואידיאולוגיה



EGYPT, CANAAN AND ISRAEL
History, Imperialism and Ideology



Sunday, May 3rd, 2009

Aviva and Sammy Ofer Observation Gallery, 30th Floor, Eshkol Tower

9:00-9:30 Welcome words

9:30-11:00 Session 1:Middle Kingdom-Early New Kingdom
Chair: **Adam Zertal**, University of Haifa
Carola Vogel, University of Mainz
This Far and Not a Step Further! The Ideological Concept of Ancient Egyptian Boundary Stelae
Daphna Ben Tor, Israel Museum
Egyptian/Canaanite Relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as Reflected by Scarabs

11:30-13:00 Session 2: 18th Dynasty
Chair: **JJ Shirley**, Johns Hopkins University
Yossi Mizrachi, University of Haifa
Hatschepsut and the Foundation of the Egyptian Emporium
Deborah Sweeney, Tel Aviv University
A Long Way from Home: Women from the Levant in New Kingdom Egypt
Dan'el Kahn, University of Haifa
One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward: Egypt and Mitanni during the Reign of Amenhotep III

14:30-15:30 Session 3: Ramesside Archaeology and Topography
Chair: **Shmu'el Ahituv**, Ben Gurion University, Be'er Sheba
James Hoffmeier, Trinity International University
Did Seti I Reestablish Egyptian Hegemony in Canaan?
Michael Hasel, Southern Adventist University
Identifying New Kingdom Polities, Places, and Peoples in Canaan and Syria

16:00-17:00 Session 4: Ramesside Archaeology and Topography
Chair: **Dan'el Kahn**, University of Haifa
Eliezer Oren, Ben Gurion University, Be'er Sheba
Egyptian Administration on the Ways of Horus and Canaan during the Reign of Seti II
Adam Zertal, University of Haifa
El-Ahwat, a New Discovery on the Shardana and Egypt in the 12th Century

Monday, May 4th, 2009

Hecht Auditorium, Main Building

Egypt and the Bible

9.30-10.00 Welcome Words and Awards

10.00-11.00 Session 1: Tale and Hymn
Chair: **Terry Fenton**, University of Haifa
Susanne Binder, Macquarie University, Sydney
The Egyptian Background to the Investiture of Joseph
Susan Tower-Hollis, State University of New York, Empire State College
Two Hymns as Praise Poems, Royal Ideology, and History in Ancient Israel and Ancient Egypt: A Comparative Reflection

11.30-12.30 Session 2: Prophecy and Wisdom
Chair: Ruth Fidler, University of Haifa
Boyo Ockinga, Macquarie University, Sydney
The Names of Emmanuel in Isaiah 9:5 and the Egyptian King's Titulary
Nili Shupak, University of Haifa
The Female Imagery in Proverbs in the Light of the Egyptian Sources

13:00-15:00 Session 3: History and Archeology
Chair: **James K. Hoffmeier**, Trinity International University
Shirly Ben Dor, Tel-Aviv University
Shishak's Karnak Relief - More than Just Name Rings: A Comparison with Triumphal Reliefs of the New Kingdom in Karnak and Medinet Habu
Bernd U. Schipper, University of Oldenburg and Harvard Divinity School
Egypt and the Kingdom of Judah in the 26th Dynasty
Gunnar Lehmann, Ben Gurion University, Be'er Sheva
An Egyptian Interlude: Egyptian Imperialism in the Levant between the Assyrian and the Neo-Babylonian Empire according to the Archaeological Evidence
Adam Zertal , University of Haifa
The Sandal-shaped Enclosures in the Jordan Valley and their Egyptian and Biblical Connections

Wednesday, May 6th, 2009

Aviva and Sammy Ofer Observation Gallery, 30th Floor, Eshkol Tower

9:00-10:00 Session 1: Literature and Archaeology
Chair: **Susan Tower -Hollis**, State University of New York, Empire State College
Kerry Muhlestein, Brigham Young University
The Footprint of Levantine Influence in the Shipwrecked Sailor
Amihai Mazar, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem
The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth Shean in Light of the New Excavations (1989-1996)

10:30-12:00 Session 2: Military and Administration
Chair: **Deborah Sweeney**, Tel-Aviv University
Marcus Müller, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim
A View to a Kill: Egypt's Grand Strategy in her Northern Empire
Zadok Kraim, Tel-Aviv University
Logistical Units and Supply in the Egyptian Army in New Kingdom
JJ Shirley, Johns Hopkins University
What's in a Name? Military and Civil Officials in the 18th Dynasty Military Sphere

13:30-14:30 Session 3: Ptolemaic Period
Chair: **Bernd U. Schipper**, University of Oldenburg and Harvard Divinity School
Ivan Ladynin, Lomonosov Moscow State University
'Neos Sesonchosis Kosmokrator': The Theme of Lost and Restored World Domination and the Egyptian Propaganda Before and Under Alexander the Great
Daniel von Recklinghausen, University of Tübingen
Ptolemaic Endeavors in the Levant. Some Remarks from Egyptian Sources

1. A group photo of the participants of the conference at the Baha'i Gardens, Haifa



2. A visit to the Iron age enclosure of Beidet esh-Sha'ab
(Ancient 'Gilgal' in the Jordan Valley)



3. A visit to the Baha'i Gardens with view over Haifa Bay

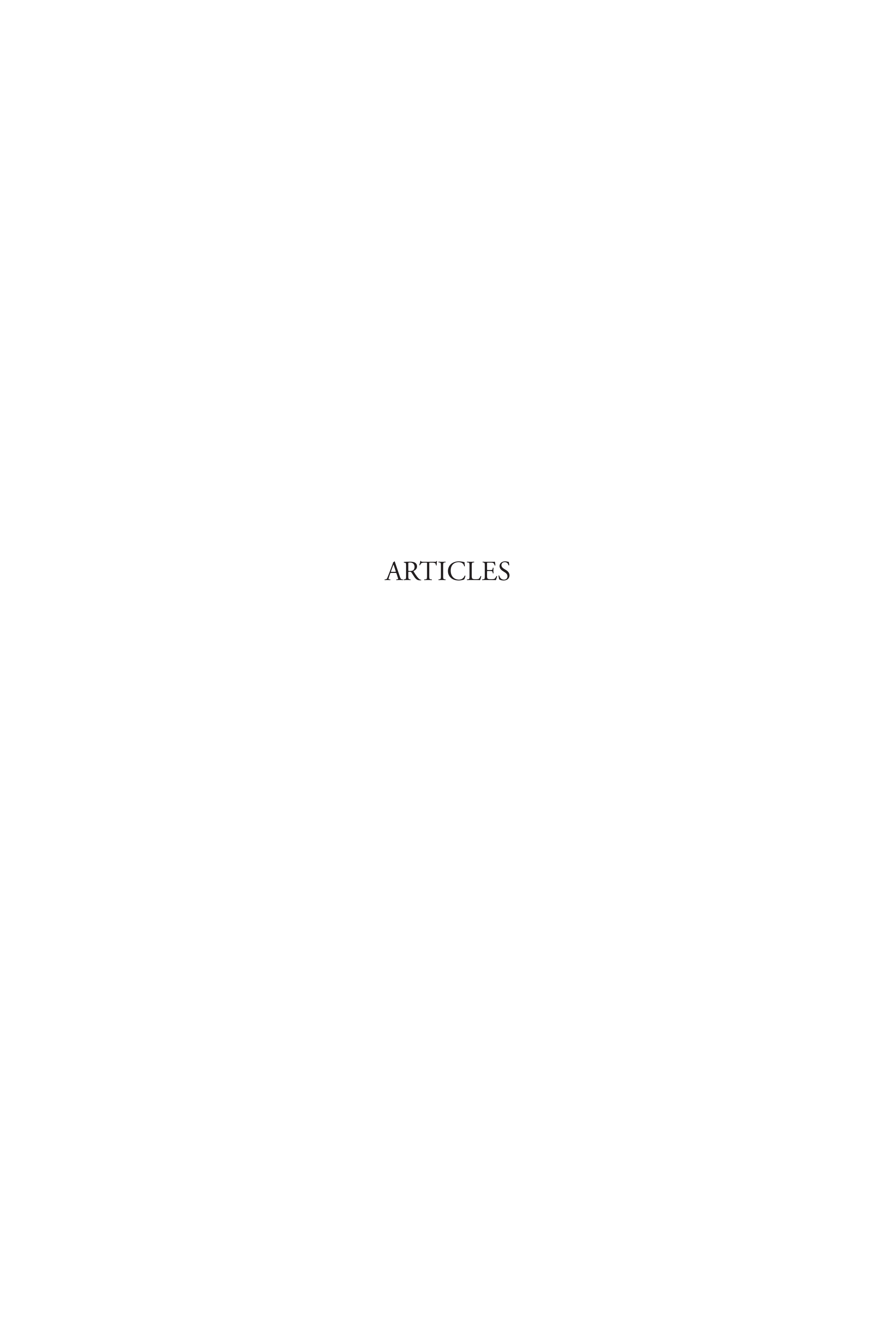
4. Walking through the Arunah Pass in the footsteps of Thutmose III



5. In front of Megiddo's Late Bronze Age Gate



6. Visit of the participants to Beth-Shean, next to a replica of Sety I's Stela



ARTICLES

Shishak's Karnak Relief – More Than Just Name-Rings[1]

Shirly Ben-Dor Evian

Tel-Aviv University

Abstract

Shishak's Karnak relief has been studied repeatedly for its unique compilation of Asiatic place-names, providing a rare insight into the geo-political state of Early Israel. However, the relief itself contains a lengthy inscription and intricate representations which upon close consideration provide ample political information of their own. This is obtained by comparing the triumphal relief to others of its genre, and carefully separating traditional traits from innovative ones. The interpretation of these novelties as ideological markers points to an earlier dating of the military campaign, sometime during the first decade of Shishak's reign.

Introduction

The Palestinian campaign lead by Shishak I to Ancient Israel has been the subject of numerous studies.[2] This special interest generates from the campaign's unique documentation by two very different sources: the Bible (1 Kings 14: 25-27, 2 Chr 12: 1-12) and the triumphal relief carved on the outer wall of the Karnak temple in Egypt. The biblical text mentions a Pharaoh Shishak threatening Jerusalem during the 5th year of king Rehoboam, and receiving the highly prized gold and silver shields from the temple. The Egyptian relief however, lists the names of numerous sites captured during the campaign of Shoshenq I,[3] many of which are identifiable place-names in Israel, but fails to mention Jerusalem.[4] This list of place-names has been repeatedly scrutinized by scholars from the fields of Egyptology, Biblical studies and Archaeology, in an attempt to reconstruct the route of the campaign and the geo-political state of Early Israel. Most of all, the triumphal relief has been studied in

1 Many thanks to Benjamin Sass, Deborah Sweeney, Rafi Ventura and Dan'el Kahn, for their kind help and encouragement in preparing this article.

2 To name just a few: Noth, *Die Wege der Pharaonenheere in Palastina und Syrien;* Mazar, "Pharaoh Shishak's Campaign to the Land of Israel"; Herrmann, "Operationen Pharao Schoschenks"; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens,* 238-45; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 323-30; Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period,* 292-302, 432-37; Ahlström, "Pharaoh Shoshenq's Campaign in Palestine"; Na'aman, "Shishak's Campaign to Palestine"; Clancy, "Shishak/Shoshenq's Travels"; Finkelstein, "The Campaign of Shoshenq I to Palestine"; Fantalkin and Finkelstein, "The Sheshonq I Campaign and the 8th Century BCE Earthquake."

3 On the equation Shishak=Shoshenq see Clancy, "Shishak/Shoshenq's Travels."

4 This omission may be intentional or simply the result of the relief's state of preservation.

regard to the archaeological record of ancient Israel. Only seldom has it been considered in relation to its Egyptian context.

This focus on the place-names has left most of the other features of the composition in the dark, and it is here intended to shed some light on them. In studying the entire composition, one must consider not only the list of place-names, but also the 30 (plus) lines of text above it and the representations of the king, the gods and the symbols around them. This should be done on the basis of the Egyptian iconographic record and in comparison to other reliefs of the same genre. Fortunately, the Egyptian triumphal relief is a well-developed genre and very common in the New Kingdom. Many examples of its kind lay in very close proximity to the Shishak relief in Karnak itself, and in the mortuary temples of western Thebes.

However, a strictly comparative approach was rarely used in regard to Shishak's relief. Simons' monumental work on the topographical lists did classify the various reliefs by their general composition but did not consider questions of iconography or script, beyond those of the place-names themselves.[5] More recently, a comparative study by Wilson has proven worthwhile in deconstructing the route of the campaign, showing this to be a necessary approach while dealing with Egyptian triumphal reliefs.[6] Accordingly, the following comparative work will single out the basic elements of the Shishak relief while studying their significance in light of other representations of the same subject or element. In particular, the Shishak relief will be compared to the triumphal reliefs of Sety I, Ramesses II and III (from Karnak and Medinet Habu), in an attempt to understand the variety of symbols comprising these reliefs and their singular composition.[7]

The Composition

Shishak's relief is set in the typical canonical style of most triumphal reliefs of the New Kingdom, labeled by Simons as type 1[8] and consisting of three basic elements: (1) The list of captive place-names, (2) the image of the king smiting his enemies, and (3) the inscription. The inscription covers the top end of the composition. The space beneath it is divided between the smiting scene and the list of captive place-names. As the list of place-

[5] Simons, *Handbook of the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia.*

[6] Wilson, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq into Palestine.*

[7] To some extent, this work has been done by Wilson (*The Campaign of Pharaoh Shoshenq into Palestine*), but the here proposed observations and interpretations differ widely from his own.

[8] Simons, *Handbook*, 5.

names was studied exhaustively, the following will elaborate on the smiting scene and the inscription.

The Smiting Scene

A survey of Egyptian royal art demonstrates that triumphal reliefs have evolved from the basic smiting scene genre into a sub-genre which grew to include the topographical lists of conquered enemies.[9] The smiting scene itself is a highly traditional attestation of kingship, dating back to Predynastic times.[10] In its most basic form the smiting scene comprised the king raising a weapon, usually a mace, over the head of an enemy placed in front of him. During the Archaic Period and the Old Kingdom, the basic image of the smiting king was enhanced with the presence of deities, hieroglyphic symbols and royal emblems,[11] some of which have become standard and mandatory.[12] The smiting scene reached its peak during the New Kingdom[13] with standard additions of an anthropomorphic deity,[14] a *w3s* sceptre and an *ꜥnḫ* sign.[15] The scenes differed from each other in variants of royal emblems (mostly the head gear), weapons, the positions of the king and enemies, the number of enemies and the participating deities. At first glance, the smiting Shishak is no different than its predecessors in the Theban area. In fact, it conforms strictly to the rules of the genre: the large image of the king raising one arm at a straight angle to the body, the group of enemies held in his other hand by their collective lock of hair, the lion's tale dangling from his waist, the *ꜥnḫ* sign with his *k3* behind him – all mandatory components for a smiting scene within a triumphal relief in the style of the New Kingdom. But, when one compares the image of the smiting Shishak to the vast archive of the genre it becomes evident that it differs from usual conventions in the king's head ornamentation; Shishak is crowned with the white crown of Upper Egypt, a very uncommon emblem in smiting scenes.[16] A comprehensive survey

9 Simons, *Handbook*, 7.

10 Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies,* figs. 5-6.

11 Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies,* figs. 5-22.

12 For example, the lion tale dangling from the king's waist, as in the Narmer palette.

13 Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, 16.

14 From Thutmose III onwards; Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies,* 17.

15 From Amenhotep III onwards; Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, 23.

16 Although the king's image was not carved in deep relief as the rest of the composition, the Chicago Epigraphical survey has traced enough of it to distinguish the crown (Hughes, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* III, pl. 6). Furthermore, recent photos from the digital Karnak project show that the white crown can be traced even in the relief's present state. URL: http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/

of the smiting scene throughout Egyptian history has produced only a few appearances of the king in the white crown and even those rare examples were almost always accompanied by an appearance in the red crown.[17] In the Narmer palette, the white crown is worn by the smiting king on the verso, but on the recto, the king is shown in procession crowned with the red crown. The kings of the Old Kingdom are represented with white crowns on rock-reliefs from Sinai, accompanied by gods wearing red crowns.[18] A rock-relief from Sinai portraying the smiting Pepy I is the only Old Kingdom representation of the white crown without his red counterpart.[19] In most of the scenes dating to the Old Kingdom the king wears the characteristic wig of the era,[20] the double crown,[21] or the *atef* crown.[22] In the Middle Kingdom, the white crown appears only in two representations of the smiting Mentuhotep II,[23] otherwise, the double crown or *nemes* were used.[24]

During the New Kingdom the white crown became even rarer in the smiting scenes, which by now have evolved into triumphal reliefs with topographical lists. Ramesses II is shown with the white crown on a stela from Lebanon[25] but apart from this, the far more popular *atef* crown, double crown, blue crown, red crown and wig, were used as royal symbols in New Kingdom smiting scenes.[26] Even in the subgenre of triumphal reliefs, the white crown is a rarity. None of the immediate examples from Karnak show the white crown. The two triumphal reliefs flanking both sides of the entrance to the Hypostyle hall portray Sety I crowned in the red crown on both sides.[27] The double triumphal reliefs of Ramesses II on the exterior wall of the Hypostyle hall[28] and Ramesses III on the

assets/media/resources/BubastitePortal/100_0875.jpg

[17] Based on Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*.

[18] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 12,14,16,17.

[19] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, fig. 20.

[20] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 5-7, 9, 11, 19, 21.

[21] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 10, 15.

[22] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 13, 22a.

[23] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 23, 24.

[24] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, figs. 25, 26.

[25] Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, fig. 51.

[26] For wigged representations see Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, 21, figs. 29-31, 35a, 43-44, 49, 57, 59, 61, 67-69. For the blue crown, see *ibid*, 35, 37-38, figs. 27, 32, 40-41, 47-48, 53, 60, 78. For the atef crown, see *ibid*, 30, figs. 33, 42, 45, 66, 70-73, 76, 77. For the double crown, see *ibid*, figs. 34, 50, 52, 56, 63, 64, 74. For the red crown, see *ibid*, figs. 28, 37, 58, 45-46, 65, 75.

[27] The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak IV*, pls. 15A, 17A.

[28] Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bib-*

entrance to his Karnak temple,[29] as well as on the first pylon at Medinet Habu,[30] all exhibit the red crown on the one side, and the double crown on the other. Triumphal reliefs, often coupled in pairs, use classic Egyptian approximate symmetry but surprisingly, the approximate twin of the red crown is the double crown rather than the white one. Even triumphal reliefs of a single composition prefer the red crown; see for example, the relief of Horemheb on the second pylon at Karnak.[31] Moreover, as far as the Third Intermediate Period is concerned, Shishak's Karnak relief is the only smiting scene with the white crown.[32] The rarity of the white crown in the smiting scenes in general, and in triumphal reliefs in particular, accentuates its role in Shishak's relief as an anomaly in an otherwise highly standard example of the genre. In the strict canonical tradition of Egyptian art, such deviations from the genre were undoubtedly meant to be noticed. The significance of this detail will be dealt with after treating the inscription accompanying it.

The Inscription

As a rule, triumphal reliefs of the New Kingdom contain a rhetorical inscription of the triumph-hymn style. In most Ramesside cases the text relies on the hymns of Thutmose III and/or Amenhotep III.[33] As noticed by Kitchen, Shishak's hymn is an original composition, reusing traditional phrases but certainly not a copy of earlier hymns.[34] In particular, the middle section contains Amun's acknowledgement of Shishak's building activities throughout Egypt: "you have begun to make monuments in Southern On [=Thebes], and (in) Northern On [Heliopolis], and (in) every city likewise, – for (each) god who is in his province."[35] This kind of rhetoric in a triumphal-relief is unparalleled. Building activities were never mentioned in triumphal reliefs, simply because they made no contribution to the narration of military endeavors, nor did they affect the relief's magical

liography II, 58(172)-(173). And digital Karnak image: http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/assets/media/resources/SouthExteriorWall/highres/100_0889.jpg

29 The Epigraphic Survey, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak I*, *Part I*, pls. 4, 5.

30 The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu I*, pl. 6

31 Digital Karnak image: http://dlib.etc.ucla.edu/projects/Karnak/assets/media/resources/PylonII/highres/DSCN2718es22.jpg

32 Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites his Enemies*, 42, figs. 82, 83; Mitchell and Searight, *Catalogue of the Western Asiatic Seals*, 37, no. 13.

33 Kitchen, "Egyptian New-Kingdom Topographical Lists," 7.

34 Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 433. But see Quack, "Review of Kitchen, K. A. *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*," 432, proposing an 18th Dynasty origin for the inscription.

35 Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 437.

role against Egypt's enemies (a role inferred from the strong association of triumphal reliefs to the Egyptian temples[36]). However, the rest of the inscription clearly relies on earlier texts, although some novelties are added into the familiar themes of military victory and political supremacy.[37] On the background of this familiar triumph-hymn the exceptional building reference must have been noticed by all readers.

Summary of the Composition

Shishak's triumphal relief is deeply rooted in the traditional rules of the genre in all but two details: the white crown which is hardly ever used in triumphal reliefs and smiting scenes, and the intrusive building inscription within the triumph-hymn. Such variations from conventional themes, in an otherwise typically standard representation, cannot be interpreted as chance occurrences or as stylistic evolutions, since they do not recur anywhere else in Karnak or during the Third Intermediate Period.

Interpretation

The two novelties in the Shishak relief combine together to convey a powerful message of kingship over Upper Egypt: the white crown, establishing the king's rule over Upper Egypt, is complemented by his monumental building activities in Northern as well as in Southern On. This figure of comparison between the two cities of On serves to equate their status within the king's rule over the whole of Egypt. The result is an emphasis on the king's domination of Upper Egypt as well as Lower Egypt. But why was this emphasis needed? Wasn't the Pharaoh stating the obvious? Wasn't he the ruler of the two lands? The answer lies in the *rèal-politique* of the early 22nd Dynasty. Unlike the kings of the New Kingdom, whose rule of the two lands was a given fact, the founder of the 22nd Dynasty emerged from a divided monarchy. The 21st Dynasty ruled from Tanis in Lower Egypt and was constantly challenged by the high priests of Amun in Thebes over the domination of Upper Egypt.[38] Shishak I, founder of the 22nd Dynasty, set out to change this reality and establish his rule over the rebellious Thebes. There can be little doubt that upon ascending the throne Shishak had actually encountered some resistance from Thebes, as he is unattested there before his regnal year 5.[39] Shishak

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[36] Martinez, "Les Listes Topographiques Egyptiennes : Essai d'interprétation."

[37] Kitchen, *Poetry of Ancient Egypt*, 440.

[38] Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period*, 256-57; Jansen-Winkeln, "Relative Chronology of Dynasty 21," 218.

[39] From Nile level records, see von Beckerath, "The Nile Level Records at Karnak and their Importance for the History of the Libyan Period," 44; 49, 1, 3. From burial equipment, see Gauthier, *Le livre*

was quick to resolve this problem by appointing his son as the high priest of Amun by his regnal year 10.[40] Prior to this maneuver, Shishak faced a dynasty of priests with aspirations of kingship. It is precisely during this time that an emphasis on his rule was required and duly submitted to the administrative elite of the Theban temples, in the form of his triumphal relief. After year 10, with his son as high priest, this emphasis would have been redundant. On these grounds it is plausible to date the campaign and the relief between regnal years 5 to 10.[41] Interestingly, the white crown chosen for the relief fulfills this political aim in more than the geographical sense. In the pyramid texts, the white crown has been explicitly symbolic for the eye of Horus.[42] This eye had to be restored to the god by the deceased wearing the crown,[43] just as the rule of Upper Egypt must be restored to the rightful king.

des rois d'Egypte, troisieme partie. Nouvel Empire, 307, II and 308, III.

40 Attested on shroud remains from Deir el-Bahari, see Gauthier, *Le livre des rois d'Egypte, troisieme partie. Nouvel Empire*, 308, VI.

41 Placing the campaign early in the reign was already suggested by Dodson, "Towards a Minimum Chronology of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period," 8, for different considerations.

42 Goebs, "Some Cosmic Aspects of the Royal Crowns," 451.

43 Goebs, "Some Cosmic Aspects of the Royal Crowns," 450.

Chronological Considerations

Two sources allegedly contradict the suggested early dating of the campaign and the relief:

1. Stela no. 100 from Gebel es-Silsilah

This stela, dated to Shishak's 21st regnal year, commemorates the reopening of the Silsilah quarry for the king's building activities in Karnak.[44] Perceived as related to the preparation of the Karnak triumphal relief, this stela was the basis for dating the campaign to the 21st regnal year. However, the inscription on the stela refers specifically to the building of a pylon and a festival hall at Karnak,[45] while the triumphal relief is neither carved on a pylon, nor decorating a festival hall. In fact, Shishak's Karnak relief is set on an extension of the southern exterior wall of the 19th Dynasty Hypostyle hall, and thus probably not referred to in the stela. The clear join between this extension and the original outer wall of the hypostyle hall attest to the fact that the extension was added specifically for the relief.

The pylon mentioned in the stela may not have been built at all, or may refer to some work on the 1st pylon, completed much lat-

44 Caminos, "Gebel es-Silsilah no. 100."

45 Caminos, "Gebel es-Silsilah no. 100," pl. XII lines 46-47.

er.[46] The festival hall mentioned in the stela was begun by Shishak and is now part of the first forecourt between the first and the second pylon, lined with undecorated sandstone papyrus-bud columns. Two of the columns were part of a portal with decorated pilasters portraying Shishak and his son Iuput, high priest of Amun, known as the Bubastide portal. These decorations were restricted to the inner side of the portal (facing the forecourt), while the exterior side was left completely bare. This bare portal stretched just west of Shishak's triumphal relief. However, the entrance could not have been built at the same time as the relief otherwise it would have been decorated rather than left bare.[47] Since the festival hall was begun only in year 21, and since that is also the highest regnal year known for Shishak, the relief must have been completed earlier, much earlier, if we consider the ideology entwined within it.[48]

2. The Biblical Account

According to the biblical report, the campaign took place in year 5 of Rehoboam. Standard biblical historiography places this event at 924 BCE by counting back from 586 BCE and the fall of the first temple.[49] Under the assumption that Silsilah stela no. 100 commemorated the carving of the triumphal relief, this date was equated to regnal year 21. Shishak's accession date was then calculated to 945 BCE.[50]

However, by untying the knot between Silsilah stela no. 100 and the relief,[51] 924 BCE may be taken as regnal year 5-10, placing the

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46 Hughes, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III,* vii.

47 It is possible that the entrance was placed next to the relief as an afterthought, to have the relief seen by those entering. Otherwise, there is no good explanation for positioning the entrance at this narrow side-pass between the 2nd pylon and the shrine of Ramesses III, when at that time the 1st pylon had not been built yet, leaving plenty of space for a much more impressive entrance.

48 For a detailed explanation on why the relief was indeed completed and not left unfinished as might be assumed from the condition of the king's image, see Hughes, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak III*, viii.

49 Biblical research is not the subject of the present work, however, there are different counts available within the text itself, giving a range of 970 to 915 BCE for the 5th year of Rehoboam; see discussion and references in Ash, *The Relationship between Egypt and Palestine during the Time of David and Solomon*, 13-19, 25. On the credibility of the biblical date see summary and references in Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt: A Reassessment*, 126-29, n.1-3; Na'aman, *Ancient Israel's History and Historiography*, 24; and the classical works of Noth, *The Deuteronomistic History*, 79 for the 6th century BCE compilation; and Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic,* 287, for a 7th century BCE compilation date.

50 Wente, "Review of K. A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt*," 276.

51 Suggested already by Redford, "Studies in Relations between Palestine and Egypt," 10.

accession date at 934-929 BCE. This has no real influence on the chronology of the Third Intermediate Period, since the accession of Shishak and the end of the 21st Dynasty is by no means set by Egyptian chronological anchors.[52]

Conclusions

The comparison between Shishak's Karnak relief and the prototypes surrounding it has shown two remarkable innovations hidden within the highly standardized composition: the choice of the white crown in the smiting scene and the building inscription within the triumph-hymn. Both these elements were meant to stress Shishak's rule over Upper Egypt, a notion that was repeatedly challenged under the rule of his predecessors. This message would have been infinitely more relevant at the beginning of his reign before he firmly cemented his control by appointing his son to the position of high priest of Amun, known to us from his regnal year 10. Placing the campaign in the early days of his reign does not contradict his 21st regnal year building activities in Karnak, commemorated in the Gebel es-Silsilah stela, since that inscription refers to the festival hall of the first forecourt and not to the southern exterior wall on which the triumphal relief was executed.

[52] Ash, *David, Solomon and Egypt: A Reassessment*, 34; Dodson, "Towards a Minimum Chronology of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period"; Shortland, "Shishak, King of Egypt"; Chapman, "Putting Sheshonq I in his Place."

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Egyptian-Canaanite Relations in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as Reflected by Scarabs[1]

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Abstract

At all times, Egyptian-Canaanite relations reflected political developments in both regions, and were therefore never static but an ongoing process. The second millennium BCE saw two crucial developments occurring respectively in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. The first is a gradual infiltration and settlement of Canaanites in the eastern Delta, which resulted in the presence of a highly Egyptianized Canaanite Middle Bronze culture in this region, and the rule of a dynasty of Canaanite origin in northern Egypt. The second is a long-lasting Egyptian empire in Canaan with military and administrative presence. This paper will attempt to show that scarabs provide key evidence for the understanding of Egyptian-Canaanite relations in the second millennium BCE, stressing the differences between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages.

The potential contribution of the large number of scarabs from 2nd millennium contexts in Egypt and the Levant has long been realized, especially for research of Egyptian Canaanite relations.[2] Most studies dealing with these scarabs have focused on the first half of the second millennium.[3] A comprehensive study of the period encompassing the New Kingdom in Egypt and the Late Bronze Age in Palestine has yet to be published, and our knowledge of scarabs of this period is therefore preliminary and partial.[4] Nevertheless, it is still possible

1 I am very grateful to James Weinstein, Ruhama Bonfil, and Ezra Marcus for reading the manuscript and offering helpful remarks.

2 *E.g.* Giveon, "Royal Seals of the XIIth Dynasty from Western Asia"; Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, 73-107; Tufnell, "'Hyksos' Scarabs from Canaan"; Tufnell, *Scarabs and Their Contribution*; Schroer, "Der Mann im Wulstsaummantel"; Keel, *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel* IV, 203-25; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*; Ward, "Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context"; Ward and Dever, *Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context*; Weinstein, "Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine"; Weinstein, "A Wolf in Sheep's Clothing"; Ben-Tor, "The Historical Implications"; Ben-Tor, "The Relations Between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom"; Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age"; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*.

3 See the publications noted above, which include additional bibliography.

4 For studies of particular scarabs of this period, see *e.g.* Jaeger, *Scarabée Menkhéperrê*; Keel, "Der Ägyptische Gott Ptah"; Uehlinger, "Der Amun-Tempel Ramses' III in *pꜣ-Knꜥn*"; Wiese, *Zum Bild des Königs*; Brandl, "The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck Scarabs"; Brandl, "Scarabs and

to present a general picture of the implications of scarabs from the Middle and Late Bronze Ages in the southern Levant.

Scarabs were the most popular form of amulet in ancient Egypt[5] and for a short period of time they were also used as seals for the central administration.[6] Their initial production was in the First Intermediate Period,[7] and not too long afterwards, once the land was reunited in the early Middle Kingdom, they were first exported outside of Egypt. The exportation of scarabs was not only an expression of Egyptian commercial contacts, but also a manifestation of Egyptian cultural influence. Egyptian scarabs of the early Middle Kingdom have been found at Byblos and on the island of Crete, reflecting Egypt's commercial and cultural contacts with both regions during this period.[8] Isolated early Middle Kingdom scarabs were also found in Palestine, but they come exclusively from later archaeological contexts.[9] The only possible exceptions are two scarabs from a salvage excavation of a poorly preserved MBIIA tomb in the Qirya quarter of Tel Aviv,[10] but the exact phase of the MBIIA in which they were found is uncertain, and the context of these scarabs may also be later than their date of production.

The earliest securely dated evidence for the use of scarabs in Palestine is a group of some 50 clay sealings from mid MBIIA contexts at Ashkelon,[11] a find that is so far unique outside the Nile valley. These sealings, which sealed various containers, were stamped with late Middle Kingdom Egyptian scarabs dating mainly from the 13th Dynasty. Identical in every respect to sealings from late Middle Kingdom administrative units in Egypt and Lower Nubia, the Ashkelon sealings display a distinctive late Middle Kingdom administrative practice.[12] The 13th Dynasty date indicated by their designs was assigned also to their contexts, as the pottery associated with them has parallels in the Canaanite pottery from stratum G

Plaques Bearing Royal Names from the Early 20th Dynasty."

5 Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen aus Basler Sammlungen*; Ward, *Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets*; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette.*

6 Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology and Interconnections*, 5-9 with bibliography.

7 Ward, *Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets*.

8 Ben-Tor, "The Absolute Date of the Montet Jar Scarabs"; Ben-Tor, "Early Egyptian Scarabs on Crete."

9 *E.g.* Keel, *Corpus, Band I*, 138-39, no. 99 – see Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 15; Keel, *Corpus, Band I*, 82-83, no. 15 – see Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118.

10 Excavated by E. van den Brink and E. Braun (Ben-Tor, forthcoming).

11 Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronology, and Connections*, 130-31; Stager, "The MBIIA Ceramic Sequence at Tel Ashkelon," 353; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 117-18.

12 Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 5-9 with bibliography.

at Tell el-Dab'a.[13]

Considering evidence from Egypt and the Levant, it was initially assumed that these sealings secured containers shipped from Egypt to the port of Ashkelon. Yet preliminary neutron activation analysis and petrographic tests performed on a number of these sealings indicate that at least some of them were made locally, suggesting the adaptation of an Egyptian Middle Kingdom administrative practice at Ashkelon.[14] This is somewhat surprising in view of the negligible evidence for commercial contacts between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom.[15] Ezra Marcus and colleagues have recently published a small number of Egyptian Middle Kingdom pottery sherds from MBIIA levels at Tel Ifshar, and argued that they may represent the tip of the iceberg, namely, that similar items could be found elsewhere in the southern Levant, especially in view of the international collaboration between archaeologists working in Egypt and Israel, which should help identify such items.[16] It is, however, difficult to explain why Egyptian and Egyptian-style pottery, which was easily distinguished in EBI and LB contexts,[17] would be overlooked in MBIIA contexts, and the suggestion that Weinstein's 1975 article[18] may have discouraged archaeologists to look more carefully for Egyptian pottery[19] is far from convincing.

Not only are Egyptian pottery vessels rare in MBIIA levels in Palestine but so, too, are contemporary Egyptian scarabs.[20] This is true also for Ashkelon where the late Middle Kingdom sealings were found.[21] Moreover, the number of late Middle Kingdom Egyptian scarabs found in the southern Levant is insignificant throughout the Middle Bronze Age compared with the number of local produc-

[13] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118 and n. 569.

[14] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118.

[15] Weinstein, "Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom"; Weinstein, "The Chronology of Palestine"; Ben-Tor, "The Historical Implications"; Ben-Tor, "The Relations Between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom"; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 117-20.

[16] Marcus, *et al.*, "The Middle Kingdom Egyptian Pottery from Tel Ifshar," 214.

[17] Brandl, "Observations on the Early Bronze Age Strata of Tel Erani"; Brandl, "Evidence for Egyptian Colonization"; Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine," 21-22; Killebrew, "The New Kingdom Egyptian-Style and Egyptian Pottery in Canaan."

[18] Weinstein, "Egyptian Relations with Palestine in the Middle Kingdom."

[19] Marcus, *et al.*, "The Middle Kingdom Egyptian Pottery from Tel Ifshar," 214.

[20] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 120.

[21] For the scanty Egyptian pottery in MBIIA levels at Ashkelon see Stager, "The MBIIA Ceramic Sequence at Tel Ashkelon," 359.

tions, which first appear at the beginning of the MBIIB.[22]

During the late Middle Kingdom (the late 12th and 13th Dynasties) Egypt's trade with the Levant was mainly with the Lebanese coast, especially with the port city of Byblos, where a significant number of late Middle Kingdom scarabs were found.[23] Moreover, scarabs bearing names and titles of rulers of Byblos display characteristics that clearly show their production in the royal workshop of the Middle Kingdom residence, and in two cases in the early local workshop at Tell el-Dab'a dating from the late Middle Kingdom.[24] It is now generally accepted that the port of Tell el-Dab'a played an important role in the trade with the northern Levant during the late Middle Kingdom.[25]

The evidence therefore suggests that the Ashkelon sealings do not reflect relations with the Middle Kingdom residence, which focused on the northern Levant, but rather reflect initial trade contacts with Tell el-Dab'a, resulting from the settlement of Canaanites at the site. The adaptation of the late Middle Kingdom administrative practice in some southern coastal Canaanite towns such as Ashkelon and perhaps also Tell el-'Ajjul,[26] was probably transmitted through the Canaanite population at Tell el-Dab'a, which played a key role in the Levantine maritime trade during this period.[27] Nevertheless, the insignificant number of late Middle Kingdom scarabs in Palestine and the almost complete absence of sealings in Middle Bronze Age deposits suggests that this administrative practice was short lived and did not become common in the Levant. It is important to note the complete absence of late Middle Kingdom sealings in the northern Levant, which supports the conclusion that the Ashkelon finds reflect contacts with Tell el-Dab'a rather than the Middle Kingdom residence.

Apart from the isolated find from Ashkelon, only a handful of scarabs were found in MBIIA contexts in Palestine, coming exclusively from the final phase of the MBIIA.[28] These few items include imported late Middle Kingdom

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22 Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 117-21.

23 Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age," 242; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 188.

24 Ben-Tor, "Scarabs of Middle Bronze Age Rulers of Byblos."

25 Arnold, *et al.*, "Canaanite Imports at Lisht," 30; Aston, "Ceramic Imports at Tell el-Dab'a," 55-57; Ben-Tor, "Scarabs of Middle Bronze Age Rulers of Byblos," 184.

26 The site yielded a sealing made by a late Middle Kingdom private-name scarab (Ben-Tor, "The Historical Implications," 13, no. 10).

27 Aston, "Ceramic Imports at Tell el-Dab'a," 56.

28 Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118.

scarabs and a single early Middle Kingdom heirloom.[29] The late Middle Kingdom imports date mainly from the 13th Dynasty, and provide a *terminus post quem* for the final phase of the MBIIA, supporting the low chronology based on the evidence from Tell el-Dab'a.[30]

It is only at the beginning of the MBIIB that scarabs are found in significant numbers in Canaanite tombs in the southern Levant, where the bulk of the material is not imported from Egypt but is locally made.[31] The early MBIIB archaeological deposits that yielded the early groups of Canaanite scarabs can now be associated with contemporary deposits in Egypt based on recent studies of ceramic assemblages in both regions. These indicate that the initial production and large-scale use of scarabs in Palestine coincides with (and was probably generated by) the takeover of the eastern Delta by the Canaanite population in this region, the development that marks the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt, and is now dated to the early 17th century BCE.[32] A political change in Egypt at that time is indicated at a number of sites in Egypt and Nubia, where the archaeological evidence argues for the end of centralized rule from the northern capital in the Lisht-Memphis region.[33] It is generally agreed that this development is associated with the Canaanite takeover of the eastern Delta.[34] These political developments are also reflected in changes of trade patterns between Egypt and the Levant, from extended trade with the Lebanese coast to trade with the southern Levant.[35] This change is best explained as resulting from the retreat of the 13th Dynasty rulers to Thebes, and the takeover of the Mediterranean trade by the foreign rulers at Tell el-Dab'a.

[29] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118. Also, two scarabs displaying characteristics of the early Tell el-Dab'a workshop (dating from the late Middle Kingdom) were found during salvage excavations by A. Golani at Tel Burga (Ben-Tor, forthcoming).

[30] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 118-19 and n. 577.

[31] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 119-21.

[32] Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age," 246; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 119; Ben-Tor, "Origin of the Hyksos," 3.

[33] Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age," 246; Ben-Tor, "Second Intermediate Period Scarabs in Egypt and Palestine," 28-29.

[34] Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age," 246; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 43 with bibliography.

[35] Ben-Tor, "Egyptian-Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age," 246; Ben-Tor, "Second Intermediate Period Scarabs from Egypt and Pa-lestine," 29; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 187-88.

This change is also indicated in the scarabs found in both regions. Scarabs from Middle Bronze Age contexts at Byblos consist exclusively of Middle Kingdom Egyptian scarabs, which reflect the strong commercial and cultural contacts between Egypt and Byblos during this period.[36] Egyptian scarabs of the Second Intermediate Period are however completely absent at Byblos as well as elsewhere in the northern Levant.[37] In contrast, scarabs found in Palestine first occur in levels corresponding to the beginning of the Second Intermediate Period in Egypt.[38] Moreover, unlike the Byblos material, the great majority of Middle Bronze Age scarabs from Palestine were made locally,[39] arguing for relations of a different nature with Egypt, which were most probably initiated and sustained by the Canaanite population in the eastern Delta.

The early groups of Canaanite scarabs display mainly imitations of late Middle Kingdom Egyptian prototypes. But their features, which differ considerably from those of Middle Kingdom Egyptian scarabs, and the large number of incorrect signs and pseudo-hieroglyphs indicate their local production.[40] It has been argued that the inspiration for the use and production of scarabs in Palestine was transmitted through the Canaanite population at Tell el-Dab'a,[41] where local production of scarabs is attested already when the site was under Middle Kingdom rule.[42] Both the early products at Tell el-Dab'a and the early Palestinian scarabs display primarily imitations of Egyptian prototypes, yet both also exhibit local variations, some of them first appearing at Tell el-Dab'a and further developed in Palestine (Fig. 1). It is important to note that scarab production is not attested in the northern Levant during the Middle Bronze Age.

The local production of scarabs increased significantly in the later phases of the MBIIB.[43] In contrast to the early groups, the stylistic profile of the later local groups shows a mixture of Egyptian and Levantine motifs, the latter inspired from

[36] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 188-89; Ben-Tor, "Scarabs of Middle Bronze Age Rulers of Byblos."

[37] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 188; Ben-Tor, "Origin of the Hyksos," 3.

[38] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 117-19.

[39] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections,* 122-53.

[40] Ben-Tor, "The Relations Between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom"; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 122-53.

[41] Ben-Tor, "The Relations Between Egypt and Palestine in the Middle Kingdom," 187-88.

[42] Mlinar, "The Scarab Workshop at Tell el-Dab'a."

[43] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 155-82.





Fig. 1 Designs first occurring in the local workshop at Tell el-Dab'a, and later in the Palestinian series.[44]

Syrian cylinder seals.[45] Also in contrast with the early groups, which were rarely found outside Palestine, a large number of scarabs displaying characteristics of the later groups were found throughout the Nile valley, from the Delta in the north to Kerma in the south.[46] The dating of the late Middle Bronze Age deposits that yielded scarabs is based on evidence from Tell el-Dab'a, suggesting that the changes in style and distribution of the Canaanite scarabs are associated with political changes in Egypt, which were most probably the outcome of the rise of the 15th Dynasty – the Hyksos.[47]

The large number of scarabs found in late Middle Bronze Age

[44] Nos. 1-3: Mlinar, "The Scarab Workshop at Tell el-Dab'a," figs. 4:7, 6a:7, 6b:14 (=Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 30:7, 30:16, 31:11). Nos. 4-6: Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, pl. 102:34, 102:22, 106:2.

[45] Schroer, "Der Mann im Wulstsaummantel"; Schroer, "Die Göttin auf den Stempelsiegeln"; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, 197-201, 210-11, 218-22; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 174-82.

[46] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 48-71.

[47] Ben-Tor, "Second Intermediate Period Scarabs from Egypt and Palestine," 32; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 104-06.

deposits in Palestine is unparalleled in this region at any other period, and the fact that most items were produced locally is a phenomenon not attested elsewhere in the second millennium BCE. These scarabs thus reflect relations of an exceptional nature between Egypt and Palestine, undoubtedly resulting from the large-scale settlement of Canaanites in the eastern Delta and the rule of a dynasty of Canaanite origin over northern Egypt. The archaeological evidence indicates active land and sea trade between the two regions, which would explain the strong Egyptian cultural influence in Palestine and the large-scale importation of Canaanite scarabs into Egypt.[48] Special relations between the two regions are also reflected in the founding of additional Canaanite-populated sites in the eastern Delta, which like Tell el-Dab'a display the distinctive mixed material culture found only in the eastern Delta.[49] The significant increase of MBIIB urban settlements in southern Palestine was also associated with the Hyksos in Egypt,[50] and the royal-name scarabs of this period found in these Canaanite city states supports the association.[51] Yet, the difference in the material culture between the eastern Delta and Palestine, and the complete absence of Egyptian inscriptions in this region, argue against Egyptian domination of the southern Levant.

Dating the end of the Middle Bronze Age in Palestine is still a debated issue.[52] The evidence at Tell el-Dab'a strongly argues for the continuation of the Middle Bronze Age into the early 18th Dynasty.[53] This is supported by evidence from Tel Qashish and Yoqne'am,[54] and is confirmed by an early 18th Dynasty cowroid from tomb G1 at Jericho, assigned by Kenyon to group V (Fig. 2:1).[55] The design occurring on this

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48 Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule: Avaris (Tell el-Dab'a)," 87-115; Holladay, "The Eastern Nile Delta during the Hyksos and Pre-Hyksos Periods"; Oren, "The Kingdom of Sharuhen"; Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period," 185-95; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 190-91.

49 Redmount, "Pots and People in the Egyptian Delta"; Bourriau, "The Second Intermediate Period," 186-95.

50 Oren, "The Kingdom of Sharuhen."

51 Weisntein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine," 8-10; Weinstein, "Egypt and the Middle Bronze IIC/ Late Bronze IA Transition in Palestine," 107-08.

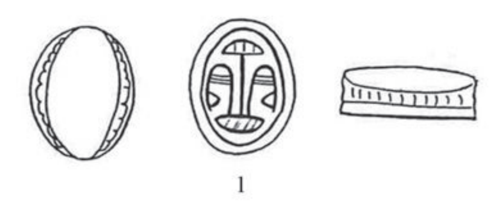
52 For recent discussions with bibliography see Bonfil, "Changes in the Material Culture at Tel Qasis"; Ben-Tor and Bonfil, "Tel Qashish in the Middle and Late Bronze Age"; Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami, "The Late Bronze Age Strata at Yoqne'am."

53 Bietak, "Egypt and Canaan during the Middle Bronze Age," 57-58.

54 Bonfil, "Changes in the Material Culture at Tel Qasis"; Ben-Tor and Bonfil, "Tel Qashish in the Middle and Late Bronze Age"; Ben-Tor and Ben-Ami, "The Late Bronze Age Strata at Yoqne'am".

55 Kirkbride, "Scarabs," fig. 299: 20; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 157.

Cowroid from tomb G1 at Jericho



Early 18th Dynasty parallels

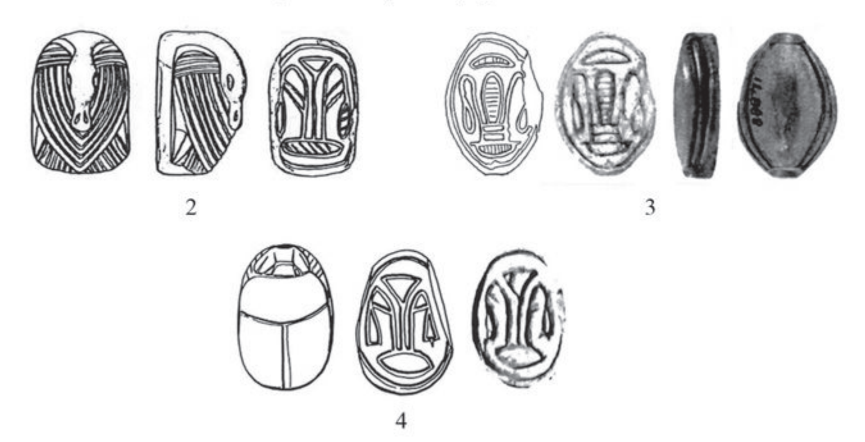


Fig. 2 Early 18th Dynasty cowroid from Jericho and parallels.[56]

cowroid is well attested on securely dated early 18th Dynasty scarabs and design amulets (Fig. 2:2-4),[57] while it is completely absent on Second Intermediate Period items in Egypt or Palestine. Early 18th Dynasty scarabs and design amulets display distinctive and easily recognized characteristics, which differ considerably from the Middle Bronze Age local productions.[58] It should be noted that such items are quite rare in Palestine.[59] Moreover,

[56] No. 1: Kirkbride, "Scarabs," fig. 299:20. No. 2: Unpublished, from H/I-1/27 ("The Depot") at Tell el-Dab'a; this drawing was taken from handouts distributed by Michaela Hüttner during a scarab workshop held in Vienna in January 2002 and I am very grateful to Manfred Bietak for his permission to include them in this paper. No. 3: Teeter, *Scarabs from Medinet Habu*, pl. 45:f. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I am very grateful to Emily Teeter and the Oriental Institute for their permission to include this illustration. No. 4: Giveon, *Egyptian Scarabs from Western Asia*, 106-07, no. 136 (135629); for the correct date see Keel, *Corpus, Band* I, 380-81, no. 810.

[57] Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 157 note 743.

[58] See Tufnell, *Scarabs and Their Contribution*, 106-14.

[59] *E.g.* Keel, *Corpus, Band I*, Tell el-'Ajjul nos. 123, 124, 183, 213, 810, Akko no. 272. For typical early 18th Dynasty scarabs

most 18th Dynasty Egyptian scarabs found in Palestine date from the reign of Thutmose III onwards, arguing for dating the establishment of the Egyptian empire in this region to his reign, most probably after the Megiddo campaign of *c*. 1457 BCE.[60] This is supported by the continuing production and use of local Middle Bronze Age scarabs through the LBIA, and the end of their production afterwards, reflecting the cultural continuity until the establishment of the Egyptian empire in Palestine. It is also indicated by archaeological evidence from Memphis/Kom Rabia, which shows a dramatic increase in the number of Canaanite jars in contexts dating from the reign of Thutmose III, supporting a major change in Egyptian-Canaanite relations at that time.[61]

As in the case of the Middle Bronze Age, the majority of scarabs from Late Bronze Age contexts were found in Canaanite tombs where they were placed as burial gifts.[62] Yet, unlike the Middle Bronze Age deposits, which yielded mainly locally made scarabs, the great majority of the scarabs found in Late Bronze Age deposits in Palestine display characteristics indicating their Egyptian origin, whether bearing royal or divine names and images, good-luck symbols and formulae, or decorative motifs.[63] The large-scale importation of scarabs is one of the manifestations of the Egyptian domination of Palestine; a similar situation is attested in Nubia during both the Middle and New Kingdoms.[64] So-called heirlooms consisting of Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs are occasionally found in Late Bronze contexts,[65] but there is no evidence for the continuation of local production of scarabs in Palestine after the Egyptian empire was established by Thutmose III.

One exception is a small group of crude faience scarabs displaying highly unusual features indicating their production in moulds as replicas of other scarabs – a phe-

see *e.g.* Hornung and Staehelin, *Skarabäen aus Basler Sammlungen,* nos. 200, 207, 209, 211, 216, 219, 808; Teeter, *Scarabs from Medinet Habu,* pl. 45:e, f, pl. 46:a, pls. 50-51.

60 See also Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine," 7.

61 Bourriau, "Canaanite Jars From New Kingdom Memphis," 19.

62 According to handouts distributed by Nir Lalkin during a scarab workshop held in Vienna in 2002, 56% of the scarabs from Late Bronze contexts in Palestine come from burial context.

63 See *e.g.* Keel, "Der Ägyptische Gott Ptah"; Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette*, §582-§585, §634, § 642-§647.

64 Säve-Söderbergh and Troy, *New Kingdom Pharaonic Sites*, 89-119, pls. 10-19; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 52-59 with bibliography.

65 *E.g.* Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, nos. 89, 298, 401 from Beth-Shean; Tufnell, *Lachish IV*, pls.39-40: 325-26; Keel, *Corpus, Band I*, Aphek nos. 6, 24, 29; Tell el-ʿAjjul nos. 86, 87, 208, 254, 259, 265, 293, 322.

Beth Shean level IX scarabs

1 2 3 4 5

Fig. 3 Examples of Beth Shean level IX type scarabs.[66]

nomenon unique to this group (Fig. 3). The fact that not a single example showing characteristics of this group was found outside Palestine supports the local production of these scarabs. Othmar Keel, who first noted this group, suggested that it is a product of Beth-Shean from the period following the conquest of Thutmose III when the city first became an Egyptian stronghold.[67] This is based on the number of examples found at Beth-Shean compared with other sites, and on the evidence for Late Bronze Age silicate manufacture at the site.[68] Scarabs displaying characteristics of this group were found also in levels VIII and VII at Beth-Shean,[69]

[66] The scarabs presented here are unprovenanced, and belong to the private collection of Othmar Keel. They are presented to show the features of this group, which were not published with the excavated material. For the full publication of these scarabs see the forthcoming paper on the Beth-Shean IX group by Ben-Tor and Keel, "The Beth-Shean Level IX-Group."

[67] Keel, "The Glyptic Finds," 52; Keel, "Scarabs, Stamp Seal-Amulets and Impressions," 1549; Ben-Tor and Keel, "The Beth-Shean Level IX-Group," forthcoming.

[68] McGovern, *et al.*, "The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan."

[69] Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples at*

yet considering the distinctive 18th Dynasty motifs decorating their base, and the fact that most examples come from level IX, Keel had correctly considered the group as a product of the 18th Dynasty and called it the Beth-Shean level IX group.[70]

Although undoubtedly of local production, the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs differ considerably from the Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs. Unlike the Middle Bronze Age scarabs, which were hand-carved and made of steatite, the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs were produced in moulds and made of glazed composition. Moreover, the Beth-Shean level IX scarabs were made as replicas of individual Egyptian scarabs,[71] while the Middle Bronze Age Canaanite scarabs were made as generic imitations of Egyptian prototypes.[72] These differences strongly argue against any association between the workshops that produced the two groups, or a continuation of the same tradition.

The most striking features of the Beth-Shean IX group are the complete absence of any indication of the scarab's legs, and the fact that the base designs always face left (Fig. 3). These features reflect the process of production of these scarabs. Separate moulds – one of the back and one of the base of a particular scarab – were filled with glazing material and placed against each other; the final product showing the back of the beetle rested directly on the plinth, and the scarab's sides, which usually depict the insect's legs, are not indicated. The scarabs used for creating the moulds are in most cases known types of Egyptian 18th Dynasty scarabs, which unlike their replicas, display sides showing the scarab's legs, and designs facing right (Fig. 4).

Unlike the large-scale local manufacture of scarabs in the Middle Bronze Age which produced thousands of items, the number of scarabs displaying characteristics of the Beth-Shean level IX group suggests small-scale production of a single workshop, most probably of the silicate workshop at Beth-Shean. The impact of the Egyptian presence on the silicate industry at Beth-Shean was demonstrated by analysis of its products, which has shown that local manufacture was limited to Egyptian-style small objects like pendants and amulets.[73] These

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Beth-Shan I, pl. 39:2; Weinstein, "The Scarabs, Plaques, Seals, and Rings," fig. 166:6, fig. 167:1, fig. 168:2, 3.

[70] Keel, "The Glyptic Finds," 52; Keel, "Scarabs, Stamp Seal-Amulets and Impressions," 1549.

[71] Keel, "The Glyptic Finds," 52; Keel, "Scarabs, Stamp Seal-Amulets and Impressions," 1549; Ben-Tor and Keel, "The Beth-Shean Level IX-Group," forthcoming.

[72] Ben-Tor, "The Relations Between Egypt and Palestine"; Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections*, 122-50, 157-82.

[73] McGovern, *et al.*, "The Late Bronze

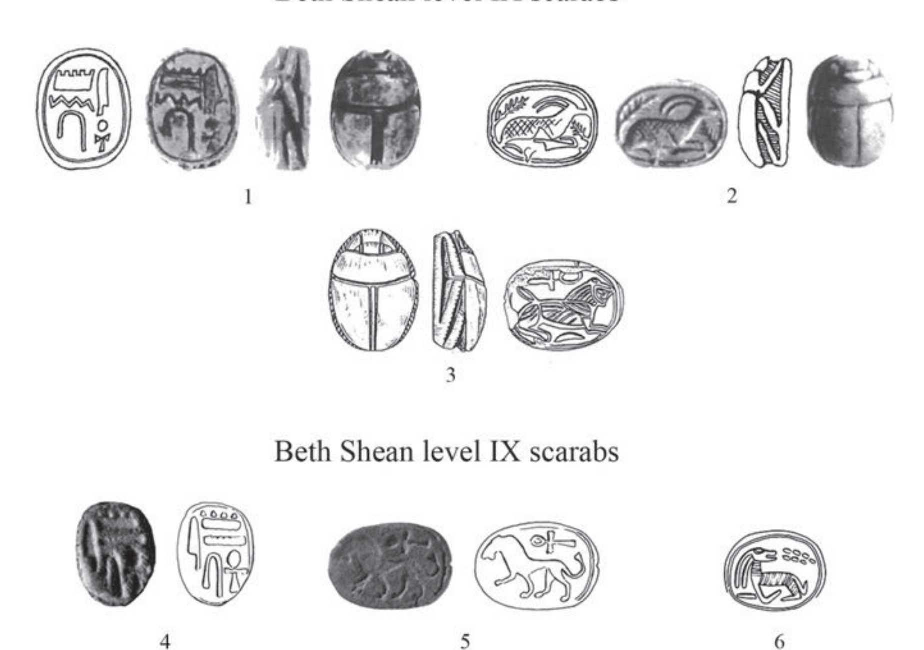


Fig. 4 Beth Shean level IX type scarabs and Egyptian prototypes.[74]

items were found mainly in temple contexts indicating their association with the temple cult, and supporting the combined Egyptian-Canaanite cult at Beth-Shean.[75] The early phase of manufacture of Egyptian-style small objects in level IX produced scarabs, while the second phase in levels VIII-VII produced amulets of different types,[76]

Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan," 8-9.

[74] Nos. 1-2: Teeter, *Scarabs from Medinet Habu*, pl. 5:d and 36:c, respectfully. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. I am very grateful to Emily Teeter and the Oriental Institute for their permission to include these illustrations. No. 3: Unpublished, from H/I-1/27 ("The Depot") at Tell el-Dab'a; this drawing was taken from handouts distributed by Michaela Hüttner during a scarab workshop held in Vienna in January 2002 and I am very grateful to Manfred Bietak for his permission to include them in this paper. No. 4: Keel, *Corpus, Band II*, Beth Shean no. 130 = Weinstein, "The Scarabs, Plaques, Seals, and Rings," fig. 168: 2. No. 5: Keel, *Corpus, Band II*, Beth Shean no. 142 = Weinstein, "The Scarabs, Plaques, Seals, and Rings," fig. 168: 3. No. 6: Keel, *Corpus, Band II*, Beth Shean no. 30 = Rowe, *The Four Canaanite Temples at Beth-Shan I*, pl. 39:2.

[75] James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Age Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 129-30.

[76] James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze*

probably reflecting the popular types of imported Egyptian amulets at Beth-Shean during each of these periods.

The corpus of 18th Dynasty scarabs found in Palestine is much smaller than that of the Middle Bronze Age but the 19th Dynasty saw a significant increase in the number of imported scarabs, especially during the reign of Ramesses II. Considering the archaeological evidence, it is reasonable to assume that this increase in the number of scarabs reflected the intensified Egyptian presence in Palestine in the face of the growing power of the Hittite empire in the north.[77] The material culture of southern Canaan underwent a conspicuous Egyptianization in the Ramesside Period, and Egyptian influence increased significantly in comparison with the 18th Dynasty.[78] It has been argued that this situation may also reflect the emulation of Egyptian culture by the local elite.[79] Such emulation undoubtedly existed, but is not likely to have been the primary factor for the increasing Egyptian influence. This is indicated by the archaeological evidence,[80] and is supported by the fact that many of the scarabs found in Ramesside contexts in Palestine display royal or divine names and/or images, suggesting their most likely production in Egyptian royal and temple workshops,[81] and thus arguing for Egyptian initiation of their importation. The question of possible local scarab production in the Ramesside Period[82] still awaits a comprehensive study,[83] and this

Age Egyptian Garison at Beth Shan, 126-63, pls. 26-29.

77 Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine," 17-18; Gonen, "The Late Bronze Age," 214-15.

78 Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine," 18-22; Oren, "Palaces and Patrician Houses," 117-20; McGovern, *et al.*, "The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan"; Killebrew, "New Kingdom Egyptian-Style and Egyptian Pottery in Canaan."

79 Higginbotham, "Elite Emulation."

80 See Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine," 18-22; Oren "Palaces and Patrician Houses," 117-20; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Age Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*; Killebrew, "New Kingdom Egyptian-Style and Egyptian Pottery in Canaan."

81 This was first noted by Othmar Keel (Unpublished Schweich lectures at the British Academy in 1998), who pointed out the dominant designs on New Kingdom scarabs that argue for their production in royal and/or temple workshops. This is supported by the high quality of workmanship attested on many examples.

82 See *e.g.* Brandl, "The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck Scarabs."

83 Of special interest is the archaizing of Canaanite Middle Bronze Age motifs on Ramesside scarabs, which may suggest local production (See *e.g.* Rowe, *A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, nos. 615, 617, 649, 789, 790; Brandl, "The Cape Gelidonya Shipwreck Scarabs"), but this archaizing could just as well have originated in the region of Tell el-Dab'a – Qantir, the location of Avaris and Piramesse – the capitals of the Hyksos and the 19th and 20th Dynasties, where Middle Bronze

is also the case with characterizing scarabs of the later Ramesside Period and establishing their cultural and historical implications.

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Joseph's Rewarding and Investiture (Genesis 41:41-43) and the Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt[1]

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Abstract

Against the backdrop of this author's Egyptological research on the Gold of Honour in the New Kingdom, the paper reports on the findings and (re)turns to the Bible scholars, who were the first to present detailed research on the Egyptian phenomenon of rewarding with gold in conjunction with their interest in the Biblical narrative of Joseph. The main characteristics of the Gold of Honour are summarised and it emerges as a powerful political tool under the sole control of the king who in his selection of officials could break the bounds of the conventional ranking system in society. The paper reviews the parallels between the Egyptian sources and the verses in Genesis 41. The diachronic dimension and development of a text are acknowledged, and issues concerning the transmission of narrative motifs, their origin and survival are raised.

[1] This article is the revised version of the paper presented at the conference in Haifa, and I wish to thank the participants, especially Nili Shupak, Bernd Schipper, Jim Hoffmeier and Boyo Ockinga for discussions and valuable comments. My thanks also go to Mary Hartley and Leonie Donovan, both from Macquarie University Sydney, for assistance with the preparation of the figures, the drawings and their digitization.

Introduction

Investigating the Gold of Honour, the *nbw n.y ḥsw.t*, involves researching a tradition that is well attested and firmly rooted in New Kingdom Egypt, from the early 18th to the late 20th Dynasty. It is a phenomenon that not only has a distinct iconography with specific motifs, to which issues of convention and innovation for the repertoire of wall decoration apply, but it is also mentioned and described in texts and has been documented in the form of artefacts in the archaeological record.[2] But how does the Story of Joseph from the Book of Genesis come into such an investigation, or rather, as is the case for this author, why does it come as a final step that needs to be addressed?

In the history of Egyptological research of the phenomenon, the connection between the Gold of Honour and Joseph was made at the very beginning. Until recently, only three scholars[3] had investigated the

[2] Binder, *Gold of Honour*.

[3] Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, esp. 121-35; Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of*

phenomenon of rewarding with the Gold of Honour in ancient Egypt in any depth; Vergote and Redford came to the topic precisely through their interest in the Biblical narrative of Joseph (Book of Genesis 39-50), and their aim was to explore the range of Egyptian influence on the text. While both compiled a wealth of references, a full analysis of rewarding with gold in the Egyptian tradition lay beyond the scope of their task at the time.

The foci of this paper are three verses from the context of Joseph's rise at pharaoh's court (Genesis 41, 41-43):[4]

> (41) And Pharaoh said to Joseph: "See, I have set you over all the land of Egypt." (42) Removing his signet ring from his hand, Pharaoh put it on Joseph's hand; he arrayed him in garments of fine linen, and put a gold chain around his neck. (43) He had him ride in the chariot of his second-in-command; and they cried out in front of him, "Bow the knee!" Thus he set him over all the land of Egypt.

Vergote's starting point was the problem of translation with regard to the gifts, in particular the gold chain that Joseph receives from Pharaoh. With background knowledge on ancient Egypt, he saw an issue concerning the use of the article in v. 42a:[5] the Samaritan text has no article while the Masuretic text does.[6] Is the relevant phrase therefore to be translated as *a* gold chain or *the* gold chain? The translation with the definite article suggests reference to something known.[7] In ancient Egypt, a tradition of rewarding with a gold chain did exist for a very long time and it can still be well documented today. But how plausible is a connection between the narrative of Joseph and this New Kingdom tradition? Before addressing the validity of this question, an overview is given of the evidence for kings rewarding officials with gold in the Egyptian record.

Gold of Honour in Ancient Egypt: Research and Insights

The Form of the Reward

The Egyptian kings are attested as having rewarded deserving officials with the *nbw n.y ḥsw.t*, the "gold of favour / praise / honour" (Fig. 1). It was granted in the form of a golden

Joseph, esp. 208-26; Vandersleyen, *Les guerres d'Amosis, fondateur de la XVIIIe dynastie*, esp. 41-48; for the review of further literature on the topic, see Binder, *Gold of Honour*, ch. 2.

4 *NRSV*.

5 Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, 121-22.

6 Westermann, *Genesis Kapitel 37-50*, 85 (English translation, 84).

7 In modern Bible translations and commentaries, one finds both: *a* gold chain (KJV; Revised Standard Version; rev. Luther 1984; Westermann [English translation], *Genesis 37-50*, 83; Seebass, *Genesis III*, 63) and *the* gold chain (Bible de Jérusalem; Westermann, *Genesis Kapitel 37-50*, 84; Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, 244).



Fig. 1 Bestowal of the Gold of Honour: Khaemhat TT 57 (time: Amenhotep III). After Cyril Aldred, *Egyptian Art*, fig. 134.

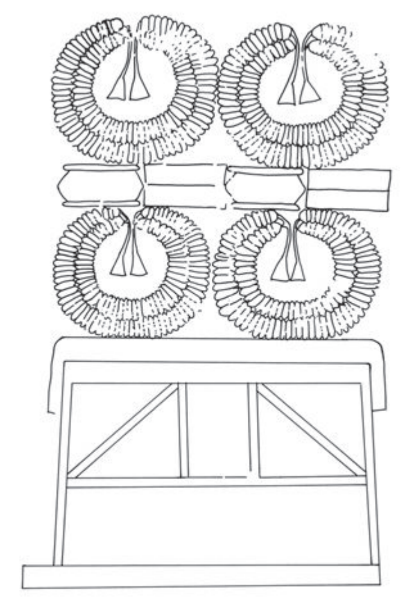


Fig. 2 Set of ornaments for rewarding: Kheruef TT 192 (time: Amenhotep III). After Epigraphic Survey, *The Tomb of Kheruef*, pl. 28.

chain known by its ancient name as a *shebyu* (*šbyw*). From the time of Thutmose III, this *shebyu* consisted of a necklace of two or more rows of tightly strung lenticular or disk-shaped beads (Figs. 2-3). Only in the 18th Dynasty, from Thutmose III to Amenhotep III, could the Gold of Honour comprise a set of ornaments consisting of the *shebyu* collar combined with armlets of two segments on both upper arms (*ʿwʿw*), and bracelets of which one is a conspicuous, bulging bracelet (*msktw*) (Figs. 2-3).[8] But throughout the New Kingdom, the *shebyu* collar is the common denominator in all instances of rewarding with the Gold of Honour. Evidence is found on a great variety of types of monuments in archaeological, iconographical and inscriptional form: painted and relief-cut scenes on tomb and temple walls, on papyri, mummy boards, shabtis, architectural elements of houses, and statues, as well as inscriptional evidence on tomb and temple walls, statues, royal stelae, and rock inscriptions.[9] Some of the golden armlets and bracelets are preserved, but there is only one certain example of a *shebyu* still *in situ* on the mummy of Kha, now in Turin.[10]

[8] Binder, *Gold of Honour*, esp. 214-17.

[9] Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 8-9, 264-69.

[10] Armlets and bracelets: Leiden AO 2a.1-2, 2b, 2c; Cairo CG 52073-81. For

General Framework for the Phenomenon

The data for the phenomenon is comprised in a prosopography of 267 New Kingdom officials.[11] With few exceptions they are known by their names, titles, and epithets, with many also known by their family background, and in some few cases by (for Egyptian standards) extensive biographical inscriptions. For two reasons, this corpus is considerably larger than what previous investigations of the topic were based on: (1) archaeological fieldwork since the studies of the early 1970s has yielded new material, and (2) an integrated approach was chosen for the compilation of sources, bringing together all types of evidence, namely archaeological, iconographical and inscriptional. The attestations for rewarding with gold in the form of the golden *shebyu* collar occur in a very distinct timeframe, namely for the entirety of the New Kingdom: Dynasties 18-20, from Amenhotep I to Ramesses IX, *c.* 1550-1100 BCE.[12]



Fig. 3 Wearing the Gold of Honour: Sennefer TT 96 (time: Amenhotep II). After Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln, *Sen-nefer. Die Grabkammer des Bürgermeisters von Theben*, 74.

The Gold of Honour is a gift that cannot be obtained other than from the ruling monarch or on his instruction, and there is no evidence that it could be exchanged or traded in a system of barter. The texts say that an official could receive the Gold of Honour more than once, and perhaps the depiction of multiple collars (Fig. 4), only found in two-dimensional representation, is a method of translating into the

the *shebyu* and other ornaments on the body of Kha: Curto and Mancini, "News of Kha and Meryt," pl. XII.

11 Since the publication of the monograph, another three officials have been added, bringing the number of known rewardees to 267 (*cf.* Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 9-10, Prosopography 285-356).

12 There are some, but very few, attestations for the same expression *nbw n.y ḥsw.t* in the Old and Middle Kingdom. These occurrences are so scarce and widely scattered chronologically and geographically that no coherent picture emerges. The same applies to the Third Intermediate Period. With the state of our knowledge today it is therefore not possible to speak of a tradition outside the New Kingdom (Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 62-77).



Fig. 4 Receiving multiple collars: Iy and Ty (now Cairo TN 10/11/26/1, from Amarna no. 25). After Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum, *Echnaton – Nofretete – Tutanchamun*, no. 49.

pictorial representation the "very many times" of the bestowal.[13] This ceremony of bestowal was a public statement of the king's authority and approval of the official's exceptional traits of character or a commissioned task completed to the king's satisfaction, such as overseeing the production of a colossal statue or the transportation and delivery of six obelisks, a conquest, a particularly significant harvest, the providing of dedicatory gifts for the temple, or a deed of bravery in battle. Rewarding officials in a public ceremony created incentive to others to strive for the same excellence in the fulfilling of their duties over and above the expected norm.[14]

The analysis of further biographical information available on the rewardees revealed that there is no epithet or honorific title that points to the reward. Another striking observation can be made: receiving the Gold of Honour did not depend on an occupation in a certain sector of society or a certain rank or family background. In the "Who's Who" of the Gold of Honour, there are – among others – overseers of works, soldiers, bowmen, priests, chief stewards, overseers of the royal harim, goldworkers, a sandal-bearer, now and again a mayor of Thebes or mayors of other centres, leaders of expeditions, now and again a vizier, guards, people employed in the treasury, traders, sculptors, messen-

[13] Some examples: Ahmose son of Ebana, *Urk.* IV, 2.2; Dedi, *Urk.* IV, 40.17; Huy, *Urk.* IV, 2072.5-6; Horemheb, Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb*, pl. 28 (scene 70); Nefersekheru, Osing, *Das Grab des Nefersecheru in Zawyet Sultan*, pl. 35, cols. 12-13.

[14] For an overview and the sources, see Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 206, table 12.1.

gers, butlers, and persons attested only with the title "scribe." There is enormous diversity in the people attested with the *shebyu*, not only in their occupations across all sectors but also as regards their social rank: some, but by far not all, were members of the highest echelons; some, but not all, were from the military or held positions in the temples or were involved with the king's building programme. [15]

There also appears to have been a certain surprise-effect, an inherent unpredictability, as to who received the reward. This means that an official could not work towards receiving the Gold of Honour: the vizier Rekhmire (TT 100), for example, changed the original decoration of his tomb to incorporate a scene and text to document that he received the Gold of Honour from Amenhotep II;[16] and on stela Leiden V1 Userhat, the chief sculptor in the immediate post-Amarna Period, insists repeatedly that he is telling the truth and not lying about the fact that he received the reward.[17]

Each monarch of the New Kingdom appears to have made use of this "institution" in a different way to strengthen those whose loyalty he appreciated or needed most. The distribution of this reward probably also assisted the king in guaranteeing stability and his control of power in the country. Under Thutmose III, for example,[18] at a time of territorial expansion, we find soldiers and elite fighters among the rewardees; during the time of Amenhotep III, there is a focus on officials in the central administration;[19] in the reign of Akhenaten, the officials holding the top posts in the various occupational sectors are given the gold; in the post-Amarna Period, one unique focus is on officials in the treasury and the temples, which is certainly connected with the re-installation of the traditional religion after Akhenaten's experiment; under Ramesses II those in charge of the massive building projects are a distinct group among the rewardees.

Overall, it is important to understand the *hesut*-system which regulates the relationship of the king to his officials in this pre-monetary society.[20] The give-and-take (*mrwt* and *ḥswt*) of service and loyalty on behalf of the officials is "remunerated" and rewarded by

[15] For details on the occupational sectors of New Kingdom society referred to here, see Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 221-31.

[16] Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes*, 63-66, pls. LXVIII-LXXI; *Urk*. IV, 1159-60; Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 94-96.

[17] Leiden V1 (AP12): Boeser, *Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches*, pl. 1; K*RI* VII, 26-29; Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 173-75.

[18] For the reign by reign discussion see Binder, *Gold of Honour*, ch. 16 (pp. 237-51).

[19] Binder, "'Let me tell you what happened to me …,'" forthcoming.

[20] The notion of the "*ḥswt*-Gefüge" was developed by Guksch, *Königsdienst*, esp. 39-45.

favours (*ḥswt*). This *hesut* from the king could comprise fields, servants, valuable objects, a tomb and funeral, funerary equipment, stelae, statues or inscriptions in the temple, goods from the statue cult in the temple, a promotion, the elevation to a higher rank, provisions in general and provisions for one's old age. The Gold of Honour is just one of many such material gifts, but it would have been the most attractive. As a gift it is not a commonplace commodity but an item of considerable material value. With gold in the characteristic form of a chunky beaded necklace, the king is distributing ornaments that are not only part of the royal attire,[21] but items that also feature among the dedicatory gifts presented to Amun in his temple[22] and that originate from the royal workshops.[23] The fact that the Gold of Honour is not limited to officials in certain sectors of society and the relative rarity of this gift add to its perceived value.

The important characteristic that recipients of the Gold of Honour, as opposed to the recipients of other royal gifts in the *hesut*-system, appear to share relates to the person of the king. Not only did they receive the Gold of Honour from the hand of the King himself, but at some point in their careers, for a variety of possible reasons, a personal encounter with the King and access to his immediate surrounding seems to be the crucial prerequisite. The deed of bravery, the act of loyalty or the dutiful fulfilment of a task brought the officials into *personal contact* with the King in the first place. Officials who never stepped into this inner circle around the person of the king through their office or honorific roles are not among the recipients of the *shebyu* collar. In other words, the king could potentially advance anyone regardless of their rank or their status in the social hierarchy. The diagram of Fig. 5, based on information from biographical inscriptions, summarises who could enter the "inner circle," the sphere of the king, and shows that access to the person of the king would not have been the exclusive right of the highest-ranking administrative officials. The diversity of persons attested with the Gold of Honour reflects

[21] For example, Amenhotep III in TT 57 (now Berlin): *Die Meisterwerke aus dem Ägyptischen Museum Berlin*, no. 22; Ramesses II, Cairo JE 44668: *Ramsès le Grand*, 64-67, no. XII.

[22] For example, Karnak dedicatory gifts of Thutmose III: PM II^{2}, 97-98 and Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* IV, pl. CCCXVI; also: Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 193-94.

[23] Examples for the productions of the royal workshop in TT 73 and TT 76: Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pls. II, LXXII. For the association of the beaded collar with the gods and their barques, see: Karlshausen, "L'évolution de la barque processionnelle d'Amon de la 18e dynastie."

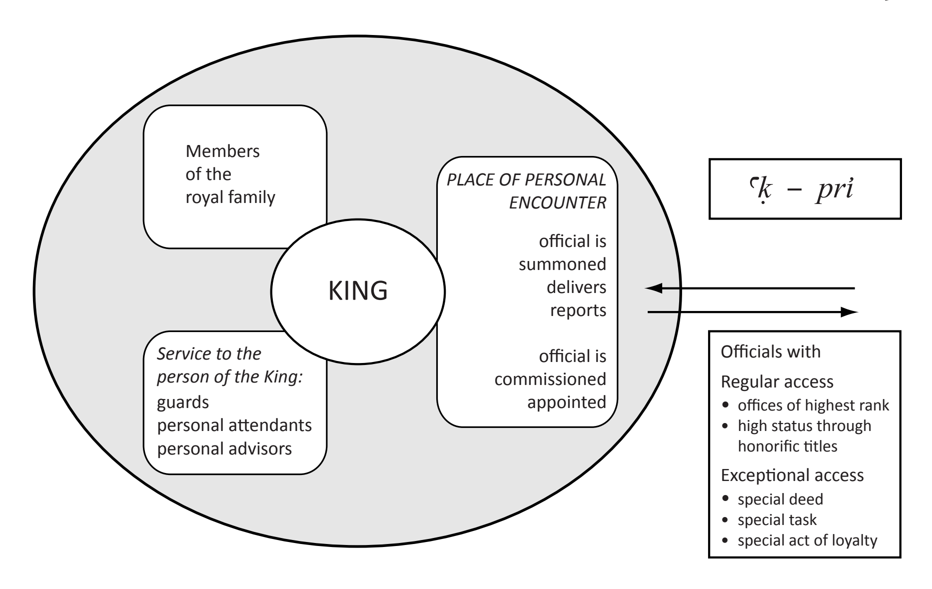


Fig. 5 The Inner Circle: officials and persons who enter (*ʿḳ*) into the presence of the king. Binder, *Gold of Honour*, fig. 18.1.

this type of situation.

The Egyptians commemorated the biographical event in a number of different ways: in their tombs, on a stela, or on a temple wall in a so-called "Rewarding Scene" which depicts the climax of the occasion, the moment when the collars are being attached around the recipients neck (Fig. 1), or in a narrative sequence with a selection of recurrent motifs, scenes and sub-scenes relating to one or more of the four phases of the event: the official still undecorated coming into the presence of the king, the official being decorated (the "Rewarding Scene" proper), leaving the audience with the king, returning home and being received by subordinates and family.[24] Alternatively, the event can be mentioned in an inscription or represented iconographically in a depiction of the official wearing the *shebyu* collar in a scene unrelated to the rewarding.

Joseph's Rewarding and the Gold of Honour?

The Complexity of the Scholarship on Joseph

Scholarship on the narrative of Joseph is extensive, complex and characterised by divisions stemming from differences in the understanding of the nature of the

[24] The motifs and scenes pertaining to all the phases of the event and its commemoration are summarised by the term "Rewarding Sequence" (Binder, *Gold of Honour*, ch. 7). Assigning recurrent motifs to phases is also found in Hofmann, "Die Szene der Heimkehr zu Wagen," 74-76.

text, in matters of dating the composition, and further, in the issue of the historicity of the person of Joseph. Crucial are differences over how and when mentions of persons, events and customs from a past time come to be in a text and what their documentary and historical value are. The answers will differ depending on whether one understands the text as being a "monolith," a composition created as an entity and complete in itself (be it fictional/ahistorical or documentary/historical),[25] or whether one assumes that the text itself has a history of creation/composition, copying, emendation, redaction and re-redaction, perhaps even a history which begins in an oral tradition that reaches back before its existence in written form.

Beyond the extreme positions, the historical and text-critical research into the Story of Joseph has a very long tradition, as does the exploration and identification of Egyptian features in the Biblical text by scholars specialising in the neighbouring areas of Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies.[26] Older and recent commentaries on the Book of Genesis, and the Story of Joseph in particular, have incorporated the Egyptological research that was available to them and acknowledge Egyptian elements in the text as "ägyptisches Kolorit,"[27] "witnesses to history,"[28] or allow for the possibility of an "historischer[29]/alter[30] Kern" even if it is "une histoire fugitive."[31] Thus the studies demonstrate due, but varying degrees of, caution in their statements: from "Kolorit" (implying a creative process) to "witness" (a legal term implying refracted authenticity) to "Kern" (implying a distinction between a current form and an original hidden/historical form) and to the presence but elusiveness of historical elements. The notion of a "collective memory" that created the character of Joseph as the "repository" of reminiscences of times past, of various biographies and careers, has also emerged in the debate.[32]

Particularly when it comes to dating, the conclusions in the literature cover the enormous span from the 19th to the 4th centuries BCE and later; dates have been put forward for the 12th-13th Egyptian Dynasties and the Hyksos Period,[33]

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25 A few examples: for text understood as a "continuous and coherent narrative" see Lemche, *Prelude to Israel's Past*, 7-8; for text as a "composition, rather than a record" see Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 423.

26 For an overview with further literature, see Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 77-106.

27 Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, 244.

28 Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 77-106.

29 Seebass, "Joseph, sein Vater Israel und das pharaonische Ägypten," 16-18.

30 Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, 688.

31 Zivie, *La prison de Joseph*, 32.

32 Fieger and Hodel-Hoenes, *Der Einzug in Ägypten*, 358.

33 This early date occurs in the

for the 19th-20th Dynasties, the time of King Solomon in 10th century BCE, for the time of Persian rule in Egypt in the 27th Dynasty (*c.* 6th/5th century BCE) and even for the Hellenistic and Roman periods (4th century BCE and later).[34] The extraordinary discrepancy is partly due to the lack of clarity regarding which Story of Joseph is being dated: its final version in the Old Testament, now without regard for the possible diachronic dimension of the text itself, or the "historische Kern," or some other stage of the story's development in literary terms.[35] Then there is the additional difficulty of differentiating between the time of composition and the time in which the narrative is set.[36] As for the possible authentic Egyptian features of the text, however, this diachronic dimension should not simply be glossed over.

If an early date for the beginnings of the Story of Joseph is assumed, it is easier to allow for and recognise the occurrence of genuine Egyptian features, motifs, and references to cultural practises. But when a long process of transmission, including stages of text redaction and a late final redaction, has to be accounted for, the question arises of how legitimate it is to juxtapose and compare a text in the multi-layered and complex Hebrew tradition with sources from a different civilization removed both in space and time. How can one, in the present case, explain similarities between sources from New Kingdom Egypt – from the 16th to the 11th centuries BCE – and account for a survival of narrative elements in a text that could potentially be more than 800 years younger?[37] Can the narrative of Joseph possibly refer to the Gold of Honour and could Joseph have received *the* gold chain? In other words – to borrow geological and botanical metaphors – can narrative elements occur as "fossils" in a late text and hint at an old stratum of the narrative with "roots" or its "germ" in New Kingdom Egypt?

The source critical analysis of the narrative of Joseph as summarised and presented by Seebass would see at least three stages or strata identifiable in a fragmentary

Egyptological discussion: Aling, *Egypt and Bible History*, 37; Zuhdi, "Joseph. The career of an Egyptian Official." By far the most substantial chronological discussion of internal and external evidence and an early date is found in Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, 343-44.

[34] For an overview, see Schmid, "Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch," 106-11.

[35] This issue is summarised in Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, 688-89.

[36] Matters are further complicated when issues concerning the *story* get confused with the debate concerning a historical Joseph.

[37] Schmid argues for a first (not final) redaction of the Joseph Story after 725 BCE (fall of the Northern Empire) and prior to or in early Persian rule (from *c.* 525 BCE); Schmid, "Die Josephsgeschichte im Pentateuch," 111-12.

form in the current text: the older «E» and «J» were at some stage combined and subsequently incorporated into «P» in a further redaction of the text.[38] Interestingly, the passage from Chapter 41 – the focus in our context – can be assigned to the earliest of these. If one accepts this analysis, it could explain the presence of Egyptian motifs. When considering how these very early traditions might have been transmitted one needs to bear in mind the possibility of oral transmission. Elements in the current form of the narrative, such as the repetition of phrases, could support this hypothesis. As an interesting parallel in this context, one can point to research on the Homeric tradition, where "reminiscences of early Mycenaean culture, from a period well before the destruction of Troy VIIa" have been identified and transmission of narrative elements through cross-cultural contacts over a long period of time, from the 12th (perhaps as early as the 15th) to the 8th centuries BCE, can be traced.[39]

[38] For the distribution of passages to these fragmentary sources and the caution with which this is put forward, see Seebass, *Genesis III*, 212-14; see also Seebass, *Geschichtliche Zeit und theonome Tradition in der Joseph-Erzählung*, esp. 128-35. The abbreviated names of these sources are traditional: «E» Elohist, « J» Jahwist, «P» Priestly Writing.

[39] West, "The Rise of the Greek Epic."

Details in the Story of Joseph

When reading the passage containing Joseph's rise to prominence, in particular the seven verses 39-45, it is the cluster of elements that conjures up very well-known scenes and motifs for anyone familiar with Egyptian iconography and the biographical texts of the New Kingdom: the setting of the episode in the presence of pharaoh, the occasion of an appointment into office, the handing over of a ring/seal, the adorning with a gold chain, as well as the ensuing chariot ride and the presence of the people.[40] There is nothing new in associating these verses with the Gold of Honour and therefore the present focus can only be on the aspects that have not yet been dealt with, or that have received a different interpretation: (a) the combination of rewarding and investiture in one event, (b) the combination of gifts, (c) the motif of the chariot ride as part of

[40] Others have commented extensively on many aspects such as titles and epithets, personal names, slavery and prices, the dreams, Semites in Egypt, *etc*: Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*; Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph* and *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*; Kitchen, [review] "D.B. Redford, *The Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph*" and *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*; Hoffmeier *Israel in Egypt*; Shupak, "The Joseph Story: Legend or History?"; *etc.* and dependent on these, Old Testament commentaries, *e.g.* Westermann, *Genesis Kapitel 37-50*; Seebass, *Genesis III*; and Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*.

the rewarding ceremony, (d) the rewarding of Joseph in light of patterns discerned for the distribution of the Gold of Honour.

(a) The Combination of Rewarding and Investiture in One Event

In the literature, based on a misinterpretation of the rewarding scene in the tomb of the vizier Paser, the combination of rewarding and investiture was understood as a stage in the development of the institution of the Gold of Honour.[41] Subsequently, it was established that, iconographically, rewarding and investiture are two distinct genres,[42] and with regard to the Story of Joseph, these findings were used to weaken the argument for possible historical connections between the event narrated and New Kingdom practice.[43] But further research, confirmed by this author's study, discovered the examples of two officials who, in a complex combination of image and text, indeed commemorate their investiture into office as coinciding with being rewarded:[44] Huya on his appointment to Chief Steward of the King's (Akhenaten's) Mother[45] and Tutu on the occasion of his investiture as Chief Servant of Akhenaten.[46] Especially in Tutu's case, the misinterpretation is understandable: the record is a complex composition extending across an entire wall on both sides of the doorway (Fig. 6). It comprises several distinct scenes and sub-scenes of the "Rewarding Sequence"; the iconography and the long accompanying texts do not coincide thematically but "cross-match"; the text of investment is combined with the rewarding scene and the text of rewarding features within the scene of royal reception. As it appears now, the composition is either a mistake or a complex rendition of a combined investiture and rewarding. The attesta-

[41] Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, 133-34; Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 123. Unfortunately, a very early line-drawing of the vizier Paser's rewarding before Seti I (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, pl. LXIV) is still often used as the illustration for Joseph and labelled "investiture": Vergote, *Joseph en Egypte*, fig. 7; Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament,* pl. XXXVIII fig. 45a (contra *RITANC* I, 193-94); Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, fig. 6; Douglas, *The Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 814; most recently, but with accurate caption ("Beamter erhält ... das Ehrengold") in Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, 251 (fig. 12).

[42] Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph*, 208-26; for the disassociation of rewarding and investiture for Paser based on the text in the rewarding scene: *RITANC* I, 193-94.

[43] Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph*, 224-25.

[44] Kitchen, [review] "D.B. Redford, *The Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph*," 240.

[45] Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* III, pls. XVI-XVII; also: Binder, *Gold of Honour,* 103-04, fig. 8.7.

[46] Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* VI, pls. XVII-XX; also: Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 109-12, fig. 8.18.

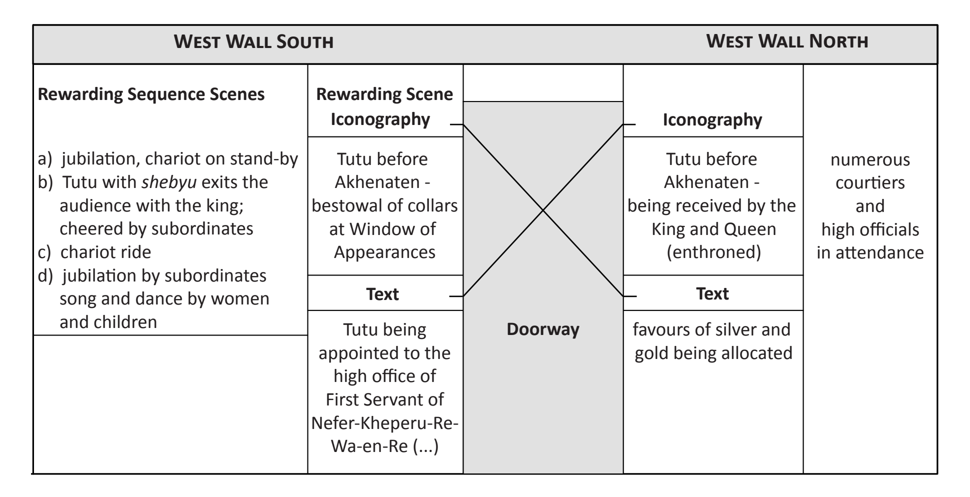


Fig. 6 Tomb of Tutu (Amarna no. 8): schematic overview of the decoration (iconography and text) of the West Wall. Based on Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* VI, pls. XVII-XX.

tions for both Huya and Tutu show that within the tradition of the New Kingdom, during the Amarna Period at least, receiving the Gold of Honour need not exclude the possibility of an investment into an office at the same time. But as a motif, this combination is an exceptional element rather than a common one. So, returning to the Story of Joseph: rewarding combined with investiture is, historically speaking, possible but rare.

(b) The Combination of Gifts

Gifts received from the king were not restricted to gold collars; other gifts, depicted or named in the texts accompanying the rewarding scene, could include other ornaments, amulets, foodstuffs, vessels, clothing and occasionally even gloves. These could be listed explicitly or mentioned by a collective phrase such as *i͗ḫ.t nb.t nfr.t* ("every good thing").[47] The gift of clothing (*ḥbs*) is also among the items bestowed upon Tutu on the occasion of his appointment *cum* rewarding, and indeed the appointment itself may be regarded as a *hesut*/royal favour.[48] Reading the Story of Joseph against this background, the chain/collar, clothing and appointment are special and prestigious royal gifts attested in traditional rewardings. No examples of the handing-over of a seal features in the context of rewarding; but the frequency of the title *ḫtm.w bi͗.ty* ("sealbearer of the king") would suggest that the ring/seal for Joseph is to be seen as an *insignium* of the new office.[49]

[47] Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 204-05.

[48] Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 111.

[49] The vignette often used to illustrate this detail in the Story of Joseph (handing over a seal, however not in the form of a

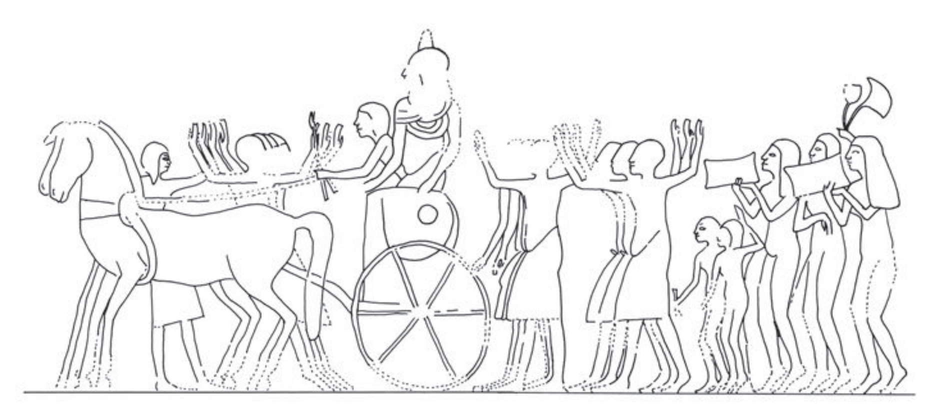


Fig. 7 Chariot ride: tomb of Mery-Re II (Amarna no. 2). After Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* II, pl. XXXVI.

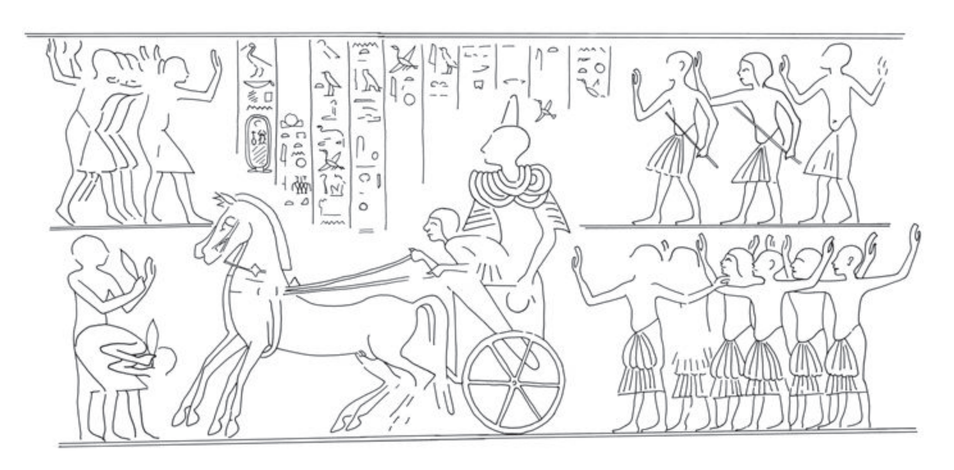


Fig. 8 Chariot ride: tomb of Tutu (Amarna no. 8). After Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* VI, pl. XX.

(c) The Motif of the Chariot Ride as Part of the Rewarding Ceremony

During the Amarna Period and into the 19th Dynasty, the chariot ride is attested several times as an integral part of the rewarding proceedings, commemorated in a scene of the "Rewarding Sequence," the so-called "ride home."[50] In this phase

ring): in the tomb of Huy, TT 40 (Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Huy*, pl. VI). *e.g.* Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament*, pl. XXXVIII fig. 45b. See also the discussion on rings and seals in Fieger and Hodel-Hoenes, *Einzug in Ägypten*, 173-75.

50 A total of seven known chariot ride scenes preserve the detail relevant for our context: Mery-Re II (Amarna 2): Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* II, pl. XXXIII/XXXVI; Any (CG 34177): Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* V, pl. XXII; Pa-ren-nefer (Amarna 7): Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* VI, pl. V; Tutu (Amarna 8):

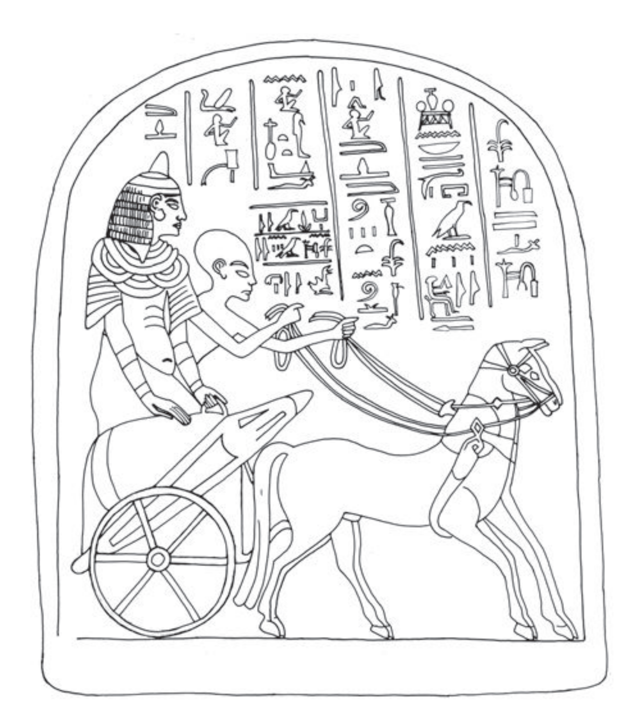


Fig. 9 Chariot ride: stela of Any (CG 34177, from Amarna no. 2).
After Freed, *et al.*, *Pharaohs of the Sun*, fig. 134.

of the event the rewardee, decked in the collars he has just received, is invariably represented with a charioteer (Figs. 7-9); they are cheered by the rewardee's subordinates and household with song and dance (Fig. 7); and there are iconographical examples for the "bow the knee" of v. 43b (Fig. 8).[51] Very different translations are encountered for the chariot in v. 43,[52] and it is suggested here that some of the awkwardness (issuing from ancient redaction and/or subsequent translation) might be eliminated by understand-

Davies, *Rock Tombs of El-Amarna* VI, pl. XX; Neferhotep (TT 49): Davies, *The Tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes* II, pl. 1; Amenemope (TT 41): Assmann, *et al.*, *Das Grab des Amenemope TT 41*, pl. 31; Tjay (TT 23): PM I^2/1, 38 at (3).

[51] In the scenes of the "Rewarding Sequence" across all periods, there are examples for the rewardee's subordinates expressing their reverence by bowing and kneeling before him (Binder, *Gold of Honour*, figs. 8.1, 8.8, 8.15, 8.18, 8.19, 8.23, 8.28).

[52] A selection of translations: "the chariot of his second in command" (RSV), "the second chariot which he had" (KJV), "le meilleur char qu'il avait après le sien" (Bible de Jérusalem), "seinen zweiten Wagen" (Lutherbibel revidierter Text 1956/1964); Old Testament commentaries: "auf dem Duplikat seines Wagens" (Ebach, *Genesis 37-50*, 244), "auf dem Doppel des Wagens" (Seebass, *Genesis* III, 64), "Wagen der Verdoppelung" (Fieger and Hodel-Hoenes, *Einzug in Ägypten*, 176).

ing the phrase as denoting a chariot "for two," as illustrated by the iconography of the New Kingdom corpus. In these Egyptian attestations, the ownership of the chariot is not explicitly addressed but in the case of Any (Fig. 9), it is specifically "the charioteer of the royal scribe Any" (*kṯn n.y sš nsw ꜣny*) called Tjay who dedicates the small stela to his master. Whether this implies that the vehicle belonged to the rewardee or that it was his only for this momentous occasion cannot be resolved.

(d) The Rewarding of Joseph in Light of Patterns Discerned for the Distribution of the Gold of Honour

How plausible is the bestowal of the Gold of Honour in Joseph's case? Pharaoh is in an exceptional situation and receives expert help; bestowing golden collars in such circumstances fits the pattern perfectly. The analysis of the titles held by the recipients of the Gold of Honour has been able to show that a rewardee did not have to be a person from within the high echelons of the established hierarchy to qualify to receive the gold. Joseph was an "outsider" on more than one level: as a foreigner[53] and as a man brought into the presence of the king from the dungeon. The research on the Gold of Honour has shown that within the New Kingdom tradition, someone like him could well be eligible, as the selection of officials was the prerogative of the king and unpredictable. The exceptional task and service for the king have emerged as the decisive factors. The historical Gold of Honour functioned as a flexible tool in the hands of the king, by which an elevation into the circle around the king could happen, dictated by the circumstances and regardless of social background. The chain is a visible symbol that such an exceptional status was achieved.

This understanding of the significance of *the* chain has consequences for the interpretation of the office Joseph was appointed into. The Biblical text does not give a title but many suggestions have been debated.[54] Bringing the tradition of the Gold of Honour to the text means that there is no need to "construct" Joseph with a specific known and high- or highest-ranking title in the king's administration. Being appointed to a rank as the "second in command" (v. 43a) could simply mean that he is directly and only answerable to the king. In the historical examples

[53] For this aspect, see, for example, Fieger and Hodel-Hoenes *Einzug in Ägypten*, 358-76; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 93-95 (with further references).

[54] The suggestions range from vizier to viceroy, overseer of the granaries, and great steward: Ward, "The Egyptian Office of Joseph"; for an overview, see Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 93-94.

for the distribution of the Gold of Honour, the gifts bestowed provide no clues to identifying the position or rank an official held; the receiving of these gifts only signifies that the official had achieved something over and far above the call of duty.

Summary

Against the background of research on the Gold of Honour, one can comment on the Story of Joseph, on the level of the narrative, and go so far: for the three verses about Joseph's investiture (Gen. 41:41-43), there are numerous similar accounts in iconographical or inscriptional form from a securely datable New Kingdom Egyptian context. These parallels confirm that the motifs of rewarding and investiture, the details of receiving from the hand of the king a signet ring (seal), linen, a gold chain, induction into a high office (even if unspecific here), as well as the ensuing chariot ride are rooted in the Egyptian tradition of this particular period. The event narrated in Gen. 41:41-43 may well mirror a traditional ceremony found in numerous Egyptian sources, attesting that even an official who does not necessarily belong to the highest echelons of society by birth can be bestowed with visible signs of appreciation by the king. The official was selected by the king himself, and in the ceremony he is raised to an exceptional status and thus integrated into the ranks of the loyals in the immediate entourage of the king. The combination of rewarding and investiture has its best parallels in the Amarna Period, as does the motif of the chariot ride which is, however, also attested into the early 19th Dynasty.

As these motifs, individually and in combination, were so well-known in an Egyptian context, there is plausibility and a sense of realism in the narrative of Joseph at this point: the events surrounding Joseph's investiture could have unfolded as narrated. Thus it can be said that the composer(s) of the narrative display familiarity with a tradition well-known from New Kingdom Egypt. The motifs discussed may well originate in this period and in this cultural sphere, or have come into the story at a time when the memory of this long-standing Egyptian tradition was still in circulation and maintained. Are not narratives the best vehicle to preserve motifs and keep collective and cultural memory alive?[55] This does not detract from allowing motifs with parallels in later periods to have been added to the narrative at some later point in time.

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[55] Fieger and Hodel-Hoenes, *Einzug in Ägypten*, 358-76, also make reference to the role of collective memory in their discussion of the historicity of the story's protagonist.

With regard to the argument (and polemic) put forward by Redford against those who "have singled out details that enjoy parallels that happen to come from the New Kingdom while arguing that data from the Third Intermediate Period and Saite age need not force us to lower our date,"[56] it should be borne in mind that a narrative can have a long diachronic development. The presence of later elements in the latest version of a text can be explained as additions by the latest re-workers. What is at stake in the present context is, however, to allow for the presence of "fossils" – early motifs and elements – whose origins go back to an earlier phase in the transmission of the narrative.

Abbreviations

KJV	King James Version
K*RI* VII	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical.* Vol. VII. Oxford: Blackwell, 1989.
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version.
PM I^2/1	Porter, B. and R.L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. Vol. I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
PM II^2	Porter, B. and R.L.B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. Vol. II: Theban Temples.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1972.
RITANC II	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments.* Vol. I. Oxford/Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1993.
RSV	Revised Standard Version.
Urk. IV	Sethe, K. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV. 4 vols. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906-1958.

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[56] Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 427.

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The Battle of Kadesh: Identifying New Kingdom Polities, Places, and Peoples in Canaan and Syria[1]

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Abstract

In 1950 J.A. Wilson published a footnote citing the "notorious carelessness" of Egyptian scribal convention in assigning determinatives to foreign names in the standard reference work *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. This note influenced numerous scholars outside the field of Egyptology without any careful study of the evidence. This brief study readdresses the issue of scribal convention in writing foreign names from the perspective of the most widely published event during the Egyptian New Kingdom: the *Battle of Kadesh*. A statistical analysis of foreign names in the copies of the "Literary Record," "Bulletin," and "Reliefs" indicates that the Egyptians were remarkably consistent in their designation of these foreign entities. Further suggestions are given on establishing the Egyptian perspective of foreign names through textual analysis in comparison with archaeological data.

Introduction

Ever since the first documentation of Egyptian monuments by Napoleon's Commission for the Arts and Sciences, Egypt's contacts with foreign polities, places, and peoples have captivated Egyptologists and historians of the ancient Near East. The military campaigns of Egypt against surrounding areas produced vivid depictions of their exploits.[2] Here was a source of new information that could elucidate these ancient peoples from an Egyptian perspective. Libyan, Kushite, and Asiatic people groups, and even empires such as the Hittites, were now accessible. Scenes showing the Egyptian king smit-

[1] This study was conducted while the author was a Fulbright Senior Scholar at the Cyprus Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI), Nicosia, Cyprus (2005). Special thanks are extended to Thomas Davis, director of CAARI and staff; Daniel Hadjitoffi, director of the Cyprus Fulbright Commission and staff; the library staff of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, American Research Center in Egypt, École Biblique et Archeologique Français; and the W.F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research. Appreciation is extended to the following individuals for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this paper: Thomas Davis, Kenneth Kitchen, and Peter Brand. The author accepts responsibility for its content and conclusions. Earlier versions of this paper were read at the annual meetings of the American Oriental Society and the American Schools of Oriental Research.

[2] On Egyptian military activity in general, see Lundh, *Actor and Event*; Spalinger, *War in Ancient Egypt*; Gundlach and Vogel, *Militärgeschichte des Pharaonischen Ägypten*; on specifically the 19th and 20th Dynasties, see Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*.

ing his enemies became ideological symbols for expressing his restoration of *ma'at,*[3] and the depiction of the Nine Bows on the footstools and sandals of Tutankhamun illustrated vividly his domination and power.[4] The Egyptian description and representation of these new entities led to several detailed studies. From 1925 through 1931, H. Gauthier produced seven volumes on Egyptian geographical names.[5] Four years later W. Wreszinski conducted his detailed art historical study in which he attempted to further define the ethnicity of various Asiatic groups.[6] Alan Gardiner's *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* continues to be a standard reference work.[7] But in the last 30 years many of these widely accepted identifications based on the Egyptian textual and iconographic evidence have been challenged. By way of introduction, two of these entities are addressed here.

The discovery of the Merneptah stela in 1896 by W.F. Petrie caused a sensation in biblical scholarship, for many believed it contained the first extra-biblical reference to Israel.[8] The first translation by W. Spiegelberg of the toponym made note of the fact that the designation was followed by the determinative for people.[9] Its designation as a people or socioethnic entity was widely accepted by Egyptologists for almost a century.[10]

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3 Hall, *The Pharaoh Smites His Enemies: A Comparative Study*.

4 Eaton-Krauss, *The Thrones, Chairs, Stools, and Footstools from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, 215, pl. LXV; 216, pl. LXVII; 217, pl. LXVIII.

5 Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*.

6 Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulurgeschichte*.

7 Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomostica*; see also the work by Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*.

8 Petrie, *Temples of Thebes*, pls. X-XIV.

9 Seated man and woman over three strokes indicating the plural (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, A1, 442), Spiegelberg, "Der Siegeshymnus des Merneptah," 23; Spiegelberg, "Zu der Erwähnung Israels in dem Merneptah-Hymnus," 404 n. 5.

10 Steindorff, "Israel in einer altägyptischen Inschrift"; Breasted, "The Israel Tablet"; ARE 4:258; Erman, *Literatur der Aegypter*, 346 n. 3; Williams, "'Israel Stele' of Merneptah," 140; Kitchen, "Historical Method"; Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, 59-60; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, Vol. 2, 77; Ebach, "Israel, Israelstele"; Hornung, "Israelstele," 232; Kaplony-Heckel, "Die Israel-Stele des Mer-en-ptah," 552; Goedicke "A Comment on the Name 'Israel'"; Yurco, "Merneptah's Canaanite Campaign," 190 n. 3; Yurco, "Merneptah's Wars," 498-500; Murnane, "History of Egypt," 351; Redford, "Ashkelon Relief at Karnak," 188-90; Redford, "Merneptah," 701; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 30; Hoffmeier, "(Israel) Stela of Merneptah," 41; Bietak, "Der Aufenthalts 'Israels' in Ägypten," 194; Görg, "Israel in Hieroglyphen," 21; Morenz, "Wortwitz – Ideologie – Geschichte," 1-2. For an overview of the interpretation of Israel, see Hasel, "*Israel* in the Merneptah Stela"; Hasel, "Merneptah's Inscription and Reliefs"; Hasel, "The Structure of the Hymnic-Poetic Unit on the Merneptah

However, as early as 1950, J.A. Wilson stated in a footnote to his translation of the Merneptah stela that the interpretation of Israel as a people was good "but not conclusive, because of the notorious carelessness of Late-Egyptian scribes and several blunders of writing in the stela."[11] Although the convention of the scribal use of determinatives had never been systematically studied, the footnote by Wilson in the influential first through third editions of *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (*ANET*) continued to have a wide influence on biblical scholars, many of whom had a limited knowledge of the Egyptian language and sources. Wilson's sentiment was echoed by R. de Vaux and others.[12] In 1985 an article published by G. Ahlström and D. Edelman built on this assumption by presenting an entirely new interpretation of the designation "Israel" in the Merneptah stela. The conclusion was reached that the "Israel" of the Merneptah stela was not a socioethnic entity but a geographical territory that encompassed the central hill country of Ephraim. The main argument in favor of this interpretation was that "the use of the determinative for people instead of land may be insignificant, resulting from the author's loose application of determinatives in connection with names of foreign regions and peoples with which he was not personally familiar."[13] In 1990 O. Margalith posited that "the denominator for people and not town might be a scribe's error of the kind which is common in Egyptian epigraphy."[14] Although this reinterpretation has met with opposition,[15] the view continues to be perpetuated. Most recently, T. Thompson and I. Hjelm have restated similar sentiments and proposed a variety of new meanings for the toponym commonly identified as Israel.[16] I have dealt with these interpretations elsewhere.[17] The result of these reinterpretations has had a major bearing in the current debate surrounding the origin of ancient Israel.

A second toponym has also received considerable interest. By

Stela"; Hasel, "Merneptah's Reference to Israel."

11 Wilson, "Egyptian Hymns and Prayers," 378 n. 18.

12 De Vaux, *Early History of Israel*, 390.

13 Ahlström and Edelman, "Merneptah's Israel," 60; *cf.* Ahlström, *Who Were the Israelites?*, 40; Edelman, "Who or What Was Israel?" 72-73.

14 Margalith, "On the Origin and Antiquity of the Name 'Israel'," 229.

15 Emerton, "Review of Ahlström"; Bimson, "Merneptah's Israel," 13-14; Hasel, "*Israel* in the Merneptah Stela," 46-47; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 198-99; Kitchen, "Victories of Merneptah and the Nature of their Record," 271-75.

16 Hjelm and Thompson, "The Victory Song of Merneptah," 13-14.

17 Hasel, "Merneptah's Reference to Israel," 49; see also the evaluation by Kitchen, "Victories of Merneptah and the Nature of their Record," 271-75.

the 1960s a general consensus had emerged regarding the nature and extent of the land of Canaan, its boundaries and geographical area.[18] The primary sources for the reconstruction of this geographical area include: (1) the Mari letters, (2) the Amarna Letters, (3) Ugaritic texts, (4) texts from Aššur and Hattusha, and (5) Egyptian texts. The term Canaan is found 16 times in New Kingdom Egyptian sources.[19] Most scholars have concluded that Canaan in a number of these texts, particularly during the 19th Dynasty, referred to the entire area of Palestine synonymous with the toponym Kharu.[20] This view was recently challenged by N.-P. Lemche, who stated that there is a "correspondence between the imprecise and ambiguous Egyptian use of the geographical name Canaan and the likewise imprecise understanding of Canaan displayed by the inhabitants of Western Asia themselves."[21] In the conclusion to his study of the Amarna Letters, he writes, "Evidently the inhabitants of the supposed Canaanite territory in Western Asia had no clear idea of the actual size of this Canaan, nor did they know exactly where Canaan was situated."[22] In essence, "the Canaanites of the ancient Near East did not know that they were themselves Canaanites."[23] Lemche's conclusions have been challenged by N. Na'aman, A. Rainey, and others,[24] but he has maintained his interpretation of historical sources which he calls "imprecise" and "ambiguous."[25] In 2001 O. Tammuz built on the assumptions of Lemche but only dealt with the Egyptian material briefly in his lengthy article.[26] In both studies one is left with an open question concerning the meaning of this toponym to the Egyptians themselves and what, if any, connection

[18] Na'aman, "The Canaanites and Their Land," 397; see also Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 61-70; de Vaux, "Le pays de Canaan"; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 125-139; Weippert, "Kanaan"; Stolz, "Kanaan."

[19] Görg, "Der Name 'Kanaan' in ägyptische Wiedergabe"; Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, 83-85.

[20] Miller and Hayes, *A History of Ancient Israel and Judah*, 68; Helck, "Hurriter," 87; de Vaux, *The Early History of Israel*, 125-39; Stolz, "Kanaan," 541; Na'aman, "Canaanites and Their Land," 404; Hasel, "*Israel* in the Merneptah Stela," 56 n. 10; Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 258; 270 n. 9; Hasel, "Merneptah's Inscriptions and Reliefs"; Hasel, "Structure of the Hymnic-Poetic Unit on the Merneptah Stela"; Rainey, "Amarna and Later: Aspects of Social History," 179.

[21] Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 50.

[22] Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 39.

[23] Lemche, *Canaanites and Their Land*, 152.

[24] Na'aman, "Canaanites and Their Land"; Na'aman, "Four Notes on the Size of the Land of Canaan"; Rainey, "Who Is a Canaanite?"; Rainey, "Amarna and Later."

[25] Lemche, "Greater Canaan."

[26] Tammuz, "Canaan," 509-11.

it has with contemporaneous Near Eastern sources.[27]

In fact, these examples – Israel and Canaan – demonstrate the problem in recent scholarship over Egyptian foreign names and, by extension, designations of polities, places, and peoples of the eastern Mediterranean world. The wide-reaching impact on our historical understanding of the geography of the ancient Near East is apparent. Yet an even larger question looms before those interested in this part of the world: Do these reinterpretations truly represent the *Egyptian* perception of meaning? Indeed, the very nature of Egyptian scribal practices and tradition, as well as the Egyptian ability to understand the world around them, is brought into sharper focus and scrutiny. Were the names in ancient Egypt intended as ethnic, sociocultural, or geographical designations, or were they simply loose designations given with little reference to meaning? Can we be certain that the authors (scribes) of these texts knew what they were recording? How accurate were they, and with what consistency did they record their perceptions of the world around them? These are significant epistemological and historiographical questions. They impinge on whether it is possible to establish (1) that the communication system used (written language and iconography) was able to provide such distinctions, and ultimately (2) whether the communicators (writers and artists) knew what these names meant and the reality they represented. One of the reasons for the present impasse, as R. Merrillees correctly pointed out in his study on the identification of Alasiya,[28] is that no detailed, comparative analysis had yet been conducted on the defining characteristic of the Egyptian language that allows such distinctions: the determinative.[29] For some years now, and during my appointment as a Fulbright Senior Scholar at the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, I have been completing a comprehensive study of foreign names and their determinatives in the Egyptian New Kingdom, which I hope will add significantly to the understanding and definition of the peoples, places, and polities in the eastern Mediterranean world. To accomplish such a monumental task, a database of over 120 different foreign names in the area of the eastern Mediterranean was compiled from the reign of Thutmose

27 On the identification of Canaan, see Hasel, "Pa-Canaan in the Egyptian New Kingdom: Canaan or Gaza?"; Hasel, "The Identification of Canaan in New Kingdom Egyptian Sources."

28 Merrillees, *Alashia Revisited*, 69.

29 On the use of determinatives, see Giveon, "Determinatives in the Hieroglyphic Writing of Canaanite Names"; most recently Spalinger, "A Garland of Determinatives."

III to Ramesses III. These names are used over 1,200 times. In this article I am addressing one aspect of this broad topic which may illustrate some of the insights that can be gained. While I have dealt with Israel and Canaan in other publications, for this essay I have chosen to focus on the accounts of the *Battle of Kadesh*.

Perspectives on the Battle of Kadesh

During the New Kingdom, one event stands out above all others in its vivid portrayal in reliefs and in written form repeated numerous times throughout Egypt: the *Battle of Kadesh*.[30] This most celebrated of all Egyptian military campaigns by Ramesses II against the Hittites is also one of the most successful examples of the propaganda of an event known in the ancient world. The strategic location of Kadesh in the Eleutheros Valley was the key to the territory of Amurru and provided the entryway into the Syrian plain.[31] It was the crucial role of Kadesh, and already the buildup from earlier attempts to control the region, that made it one of the most important battles.[32] Although the outcome of the battle is still a matter of intense debate,[33] impor-

[30] Studies include: (1) on literary analysis, Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, 153-73, 182-85; Fecht, "Ramesses II. und die Schlacht bei Qadesch"; von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramesses' II zur Qadeš-Schlacht*; Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions"; Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches of Ramesses II"; von der Way, *Die Textüberlieferung Ramesses' II. zur Qadeš-Schlacht*; Spalinger, *P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*; (2) on interpretation: Breasted, *Battle of Kadesh*; Burne, "Some Notes on the Battle of Kadesh"; Alt, "Zur Topographie der Schlacht bei Kades" and "Noch einmal zur Schlacht bei Kades"; Sturm, *Der Hittiterkrieg Ramesses' II*; Faulkner, "Battle of Kadesh"; Schulman, "The *nʿrn* at the Battle of Kadesh" and "The *nʿrn* at the Battle of Kadesh Once Again"; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 195-208 and "Eine Bemerkung"; Goedicke, "Considerations"; Kuschke, "Das Terrain der Schlacht bei Qadeš"; Ockinga, "Interpretation of the Kadesh Record"; Bruyn, "Battle of Kadesh"; Healy, *Qadesh*; Mayer and Mayer-Opificius, "Die Schlacht bei Qadeš"; Santosuosso, "Reconstructing the Battle"; Spalinger, "Battle of Kadesh."

[31] Goedicke, "The 'Battle of Kadesh': A Reassessment," 84 n. 35.

[32] The religious and political motivations are discussed by Ockinga, "On the Interpretation of the Kadesh Record"; on the earlier campaigns by Sety I, see Murnane, *Road to Kadesh*.

[33] As Goedicke points out, there have been scholars who doubt the historical veracity of the texts altogether (Otto, *Ägypten. Der Weg des Pharaonreiches*, 177; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 197). Others take the position that Ramesses II changed an ambush and possibly overwhelming defeat into a respectable draw (Wilson, *Culture of Ancient Egypt*, 246; Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt*, 339; Desroches-Nobelcourt, *Ramsès le Grand*, xxiv; Hornung, *Grundzüge der ägyptischen Geschichte*, 104; Kitchen, "A Note on the Bandeau Texts," 62), while others see these accounts as political propaganda to cover up Egypt's defeat by the Hittites (Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 185; von Bec-

tant details in matters of geography – both place and people names – are apparent. This battle alone and, more importantly, its recording from Abu Simbel in the far south all the way to Abydos in the north, provides one of the most important test cases for the authenticity and consistency of scribal tradition in the use of determinatives.

"Literary Record" of the Battle of Kadesh

The longest written version of the *Battle of Kadesh* is known as the "Poem" or "Literary Record." It "has been seen as a more propagandistic version of the conflict, whose supposed emphasis is upon the bravery of the king in combat."[34] Breasted called it "highly idealized and sometimes purely imaginary . . . the creation of a poet."[35] Wilson characteristically intoned that the actual reason for the text was to glorify Ramesses "to the sacrifice of accuracy."[36] And it is true, as Morschauser's recent detailed analysis of the "Literary Record" concludes, that the literary accounts are "highly finished literary compositions."[37]

Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions*, which serve as the basis for the statistical analysis that follows, records seven complete or partial copies of the "Literary Record." Six copies are found in Thebes[38] and one at Abydos in the temple of Ramesses II (A). Three other copies were written in hieratic on papyri.[39] Twenty

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kerath, *Abriss der Geschichte des Alten Ägypten*, 43; Simpson and Hallo, *The Ancient Near East,* 279; Mayer and Mayer-Opificius, "Die Schlacht bei Qadeš"). However, as I have argued elsewhere, the unity and remarkable detail of the account testifies to an actual campaign in Syria, regardless of the question of outcome (Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 155; *cf.* Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 52; Goedicke, "Battle of Kadesh," 78).

34 Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches of Ramesses II," 124. The designation "Poem" is somewhat misleading. According to Gardiner, "There is no justification for thinking that any part of it was written in verse" (*Kadesh Inscriptions*, 2), echoing the sentiment of Breasted, who believed that "the entire so-called Poem does not differ in form from the Record [Bulletin] and is not essentially different from other accounts of their victories left by Pharaohs" (*ARE,* 3:6). Most Egyptologists today prefer the title "Literary Record" (Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 2; Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches of Ramesses II"; Kitchen, "Battle of Qadesh: The Poem, or Literary Record").

35 *ARE,* 3:141, 313.

36 Wilson, "Battle of Kadesh," 266.

37 Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches of Ramesses II," 197.

38 K*RI* II; *RITA* II; *RITANC* II. The abbreviations of Kitchen are as follows: K_1 and K_2 = Karnak; L_1, L_2 and L_3 = Luxor; R = Ramesseum.

39 They are abbreviated as follows: Rf = Papyrus Raifé; S = Papyrus Sallier III; ChB_1 = Chester Beatty Papyrus III, *verso,* 2-3 and ChB_2 = Chester Beatty Papyrus III, *verso,* 1. The most extant copy is Papyrus Sallier III; Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech*, 199-220; see most recently Spa-

toponyms are mentioned in the various copies of the "Literary Record" and two additional designations, one for the elusive "Sherden" with a unique determinative of a "seated man with headdress" and another of "Kharu" consistently determined with the "enemy, captive" sign. All of the 20 place names are those of the various territories and cities forming the coalition with Hatti.[40] The contextual framework of each of these occurrences indicates that none of these toponyms can be conceived in their contexts as referring to a specific people or representing an ethnicon. Thus, for example, while individuals are singled out, this is usually done in the following manner: *wr n Hatti*, "chief of Hatti,"[41] where it is apparent that this is the "chief of the land of Hatti." Other names fit into the categories of city-states (Aleppo, Carchemish, Kadesh, Ugarit), while others represent regions or territories (Amurru, Arzawa, Kizzuwadna) and, finally, a foreign country (Hatti). It is fitting, given these types of polities, that the determinative employed would be the "hill-country" sign occasionally accompanied by the "throw stick."[42]

Of all the copies available today, foreign place names were employed a total of 60 times in the "Literary Record." Of those sixty place names, we find that there were 380 actual occurrences in the various copies studied, of which 367 had surviving determinatives. Of those 367, only three scribal inconsistencies were found. That is an accuracy of 99.182%. Furthermore, all three of the inconsistencies occurred in two papyrus copies (Rf, ChB_1). This means that in the surviving copies of the "Literary Record," the monumental inscriptions at Thebes and Abydos were 100% consistent in the determination of foreign place names and the designation of Sherden and Kharu.

"Bulletin" of the Battle of Kadesh

A second version of the battle that was recorded has become known

linger, *P. Sallier III and the Battle of Kadesh*.

[40] For description and locations, see *ARE,* 3:136 n. c, 306; Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 57-59; "Battle of Qadesh," 33 n. 3; *RITANC* II, 15-21; on the Hittite allies, see *RITANC* II, 51-55.

[41] K*RI* II, 89. 11-15.

[42] The "throw stick" (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, T14, 513), which indicated the concept of "foreign," need not be applied to toponyms accompanied by the "hill-country" sign, since the "hill-country" sign inherently indicated a foreign territory, land, or city (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, N25, 488). Perhaps Egyptian toponyms did not receive the "hill-country" sign for the very reason that such a designation could not apply to Egyptian topography but certainly would be suitable for western Asia with its hills and mountains. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the "hill-country" determinative is almost always accompanied by the "throw stick" in the hieratic versions of the "Literary Record" (Rf, S, ChB).

as the "Bulletin" or "Report."[43] It is shorter than the "Literary Record" (P) and generally considered, with the reliefs, to be primary when reconstructing the events of the campaign.[44] The account is straightforward and focuses primarily on the king's heroic deeds.[45] A textual-critical approach was begun by A. Gardiner,[46] with a much more detailed study completed by A. Spalinger.[47] Spalinger concentrated on the "informational aspect of the textual side to the Kadesh accounts."[48] Major differences were noted among the variants. The different spellings and alternate writings indicated that the scribes possessed a certain flexibility in recording the "Bulletin" on various temple walls. In particular, Abu Simbel contained a summary account confined to a single wall that was then generously supplemented by reliefs. Spalinger is careful to conclude that the variation among the versions, including spellings and the omission of certain sections or phrases, does not affect the flow of the historical narrative or its factual reliability.[49] Moreover, the present study indicates that the consistency or inconsistency of the scribal use of determinatives is also unaffected. If anything, the consistency of determinative usage is even more significant when compared to the flexibility in copying activities from one location to another.

According to Kitchen's *Ramesside Inscriptions* there are currently seven copies on monumental buildings.[50] An eighth was found by B. Murnane and is now being published by P. Brand at the University of Memphis and is not included here.[51] There are a total of 17 toponyms mentioned in the various copies of the "Bulletin" and one additional designation for the spies from the tribe of Shasu, with the consistent, appropriate determinative of the "enemy, captive" sign. Again, as in the "Literary Record," the 17 place names are those of the various territories and cities forming the coalition with Hatti.[52] The contextual framework of each of

43 Goedicke, "Battle of Kadesh"; Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions"; *cf.* Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 3-4; Faulkner, "The Battle of Kadesh."

44 Morschauser, "Observations on the Speeches of Ramesses II," 123.

45 Goedicke, "Battle of Kadesh," 115.

46 Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*.

47 Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions."

48 Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions," 43.

49 Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions," 62.

50 These include three copies at Luxor = L_1 and L_2 and an earlier version which Kitchen designates as L_p, over which L_1 is written. There is also one from Abu Simbel = I; one fragmentary version from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (A); and two from the Ramesseum (R_1 and R_2).

51 Peter Brand, personal communication.

52 For the description and locations, see *ARE,* 3:136 n. c, 306; Gardiner, *Kadesh Inscriptions*, 57-59; Kitchen, "Battle of Kadesh," 33 n. 3.

these occurrences indicates that none of these toponyms should be conceived in their contexts as referring to a specific people or representing an ethnicon. The toponyms in this version also fit into the categories of city-states (Tunip, Carchemish, Kadesh, Ugarit), while others represent regions or territories (this time Djahy) and, finally, a foreign country (Hatti). Of all the copies available today, foreign place names were employed 48 times in the "Bulletin." Of those 48 place names, we find that there were 177 actual occurrences in the various copies studied, 158 with surviving determinatives. Of those 158 occurrences, only one scribal inconsistency was located. The scribal error was found in R_1 at the Ramesseum, where the "garden pool" sign is used for the toponym Hatti instead of the otherwise consistent use of the "hill-country" sign. Of 196 occurrences of Hatti in all three versions (Literary Record, Bulletin and Reliefs) and 14 copies, this is the only scribal error. This is perhaps the most striking example of the uniformity of Ramesside scribal convention from a geographical perspective. Going back to the "Bulletin," from a statistical standpoint, there is an impressive rate of accuracy within the various copies of the "Bulletin" – 99.371% – a percentage even higher than the "Literary Record."[53]

"Reliefs" of the Battle of Kadesh

Beginning with the 19th Dynasty, reports of military campaigns abroad were accompanied with artistic representations of the king going forth in battle.[54] These commemorative reliefs provided a direct mode of communication on a grand scale.[55] Together, the textual material and the reliefs served the purpose of communicating their intended message to both literates and illiterates during the New Kingdom, giving them a sense of the military prowess of their king, his victory over foreign lands, and, ultimately, his protection of Egypt.[56] These records worked in tandem so that "nearly all Egyptian accounts included a pictorial representation with the hieroglyphic narrative."[57] The accounts of the *Battle of Kadesh* are no different, and with them are preserved some of the most detailed

[53] It is important to note that the scribes were completely consistent in their designation of the Shasu spies, which were determined with the "enemy, captive" sign (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, A13, 443).

[54] The most recent studies on reliefs of the New Kingdom include Heinz, "Wie wird ein Feldzug erzählt?"; Schulz, "Der Sturm auf die Festung"; Müller, "Rekonstruktion zerstörter Schlachtenreliefs" and "Bildliche Quellen zur Militärgeschichte." Specifically on the Battle of Kadesh, see Heinz, *Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches*, 126-46; Müller, *König als Feldherr*.

[55] Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*; Tefnin, "Image, écriture, récit. A propos des représentations de la bataille de Qadesh."

[56] Hasel, *Domination and Resistance*, 21.

[57] Spalinger, "Remarks on the Kadesh Inscriptions." 44.

representations of New Kingdom military art.[58] The wider interest of this study is to compare the iconographic information with the associated names and their determinatives, for the pictorial record can provide further details in distinguishing between countries, regions, cities, and people. Here I will focus specifically on the use of determinatives.

A total of eight copies of the "Reliefs" survive,[59] but many of the scenes and place names are missing.[60] Nonetheless, from those that are preserved, much information can be gained. For example, in several copies of the reliefs, the city of Kadesh is depicted. The relief from Luxor[61] depicts soldiers from the Hittite coalition occupying the city's towers, and a Hittite chariot fleeing into the city. The fact that this is the city of Kadesh is made clear from the inscription on the wall of the city identifying it. In another similar scene from Abu Simbel, the identification is made even more explicit.[62] Here the inscription reads: "the city of Kadesh." This is in contrast to the enemy soldiers engaged in battle, which are labeled by the Egyptians "fallen ones of Hatti." The same is true of the Ramesseum relief of Kadesh, although only partially preserved.[63] The contrast and comparison are important. Both employ the same hill-country determinative, but one is clearly designated as a city within the larger territory of Hatti.

There are a total of ten place names designated in the "Reliefs." All of the place names occurring in the "Reliefs" are also found in the "Bulletin," with the exception of *rṯnw* , "Retenu," and *ḳbsw*. Djahy appears in the "Bulletin" and "Reliefs" but not in the "Literary Record." All of the names among the reliefs are known to be place names and not people names; thus the use of the "hill-country" determinative is consistent. Once again, in harmony with the other versions, these place names include cities (Kadesh, Ugarit, Carchemish), territories or regions (Retenu, Djahy), and land polities (Hatti). The ten place names were employed 85 times, of which 79 had surviving determinatives. All 79 occurrences used the "hill-country" determina-

58 The relief scenes in standard edition are found in Gaballa, *Narrative in Egyptian Art*, 113-19; Wreszinski, *Atlas*, Taf. 16-24; Kuentz, *La bataille de Qadech*, pls. 17-23; Naville, *Détails relevés*, pls. 5-22; *cf.* Spalinger, "Battle of Kadesh," 163-64.

59 Following the collation by Kitchen (K*RI* II, 125-28), these include reliefs at Karnak (K_1 and K_2), Luxor (L_1 and L_3), the Ramesseum (R_1 and R_2), Abydos (A), and Abu Simbel (I).

60 See drawings in K*RI* II, 125-28.

61 Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 83, 84; K*RI* II, 140.14.

62 James, *Ramesses II*, 104-05; K*RI* II, 140.16.

63 Wreszinski, *Atlas*, pl. 100, 101; K*RI* II, 140.15.

tive so that there is 100% consistency among the reliefs. This is the highest level attested in the various versions.

Conclusion

Through the limited glimpse of the various accounts of the *Battle of Kadesh,* several important questions concerning the consistency of Egyptian scribes in the usage of determinatives become clearer. Such a case study is important because of the multiple copies and versions of the account found throughout Egypt depicting one particular battle. The overall consistency in the usage of determinatives is remarkable, given the total number of place and people names mentioned. This is being borne out as well in the wider survey of Egyptian literature from the New Kingdom.

Given this limited snapshot of one, albeit widely recorded, event in history, could it be that the scribes were indeed more consistent than we give them credit for? In a most recent article on determinatives, Spalinger concludes, "The various determinatives are not as haphazard as one might at first believe."[64] The implication is that if the Egyptian scribes were this meticulous in their consistent use of determinatives in reporting one event in Egypt, then one might conclude that this would carry over to other records as well – including the Merneptah stela – where a high degree of accuracy in the writing of the text has already been noted.[65] Of course, other aspects must also be addressed. How is the determinative used over time in the New Kingdom? Are there differences in monumental inscriptions and in papyri copies (we have here noted some differences for the *Battle of Kadesh* accounts)? Are there local scribal conventions that vary from place to place?[66]

There is a further aspect that is often not addressed by many Egyptologists and textual scholars. How does the Egyptian perspective of these polities, places, and peoples correspond to the archaeological data on the ground? As we excavate sites mentioned in these texts, do they provide evidence that can help us in identification? The earlier sources cited above are virtually silent concerning the archaeological data. With some sites, such as Beth-Shean, we have comparative evidence both on Sety I's reliefs at Karnak and on stelae, and other texts found directly at the site.[67]

[64] Spalinger, "Garland of Determinatives," 163.

[65] Kitchen, "Physical Text of Merneptah's Victory Hymn."

[66] In my study I am also addressing scribal conventions at Thebes over the entire New Kingdom in order to find patterns and perhaps reasons behind their use.

[67] On the first Beth-Shean stela and the archaeological evidence for the campaign at this site, see Hasel, *Domination and*

In other cases we have the Egyptian textual evidence and historical geography to guide us. As we continue to raise new and, indeed, interdisciplinary questions, it is my hope that our understanding will be broadened.

Abbreviations

ARE	Breasted, J.H. *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents*. Vol. 1-4. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1906.
KRI II	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. II. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.
RITA II	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated*. Vol. II. Oxford/Cambridge, Mass. Blackwell, 1996.
RITANC II	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* II. Oxford/Cambridge, Mass. Blackwell, 1999.

Resistance, 133-37. The recent excavations have now been fully published: Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996, Vol. I*; Mazar and Mullins, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996, Vol. II*; Panitz-Cohen and Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996, Vol. III*.

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Names	Literary Record	Bulletin	Reliefs	Determinatives	Consistency
Amurru	1(7)	None	None	hc =7; ts =1	100.00%
Arnaim	1(4)	None	None	hc =7	100.00%
Arzawa	4(19)	1(2)	1(1)	hc =19; ts =7; [ ]=3	100.00%
Ilium	2(11)	1(2)	None	hc =11; ts =3; NP=2	100.00%
Ugarit	2(9)	1(2)	1(1)	hc =9; ts =2; NP=1; [ ]=1; ///=1	100.00%
Pedasia	3(15)	1(2)	None	hc =15; ts =3; NP=1; [ ]=1	100.00%
Mysia	4(17)	1(2)	None	hc =17; ts =4; NP=1; [ ]=1	100.00%
Mushanth	2(8)	1(2)	None	hc =8; ts =2; NP=1; [ ]=1	100.00%
Nuges	1(5)	None	None	hc =4; ts =2; NP=1	100.00%
Naharin	2(10)	1(4)	1(7)	hc =19; ts =1; [ ]=1; people =1	95.00%
Retenu	None	None	1(2)	hc =1; NP = 1	N/A
Aleppo	1(7)	4(15)	1(3)	hc =21; ts =5; NP=2; [ ]=1; ///=1	100.00%
Hatti	16(81)	19(82)	62	hc=196; ts =20; NP=15; [ ]=11; ///=1; garden pool [N38] *sic* =1	99.55%
Shasu	None	1(5)	None	captive =5; ts =3; pl =5	100.00%
Shabtun	1(6)	2(10)	None	hc =13; ts =1; NP=1; [ ]=1; composite river =1 *sic*	92.85%
Sherden	1(4)	None	None	seated man/headdress =4; pl =4hc/ts =1	80.00%
Kizzuwadna	1(6)	None	None	hc =6; ts =3	100.00%
kbsw	None	None	1(2)	hc =2; ts =2	100.00%
Kode	2(8)	1(2)	None	hc =10; ts =1	100.00%
Kadesh	9(42)	8(29)	None	hc =65; ts =10; NP=4; [ ]=2; ///=1;village=1 *sic*	98.48%
Carchemish	3(16)	1(2)	2(2)	hc =18; ts =3; NP=2	100.00%
Keshkesh	1(5)	1(2)	None	hc =8; ts =5	100.00%
Tunip	None	2(7)	None	hc =7; ts =3; [ ]=2	100.00%
Tharu	1(4)	None	None	hc =3; ts=1; [ ]=1	100.00%
Dardinia	3(10)	1(2)	2(2)	hc =13; ts =3; [ ]=1	100.00%
Djahy	None	1(5)	2(3)	hc =8	100.00%

Fig. 1 Comparison table of names and determinatives.



David's Triumph Over Goliath: 1 Samuel 17:54 and Ancient Near Eastern Analogues

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Abstract

The Story of David and Goliath is surely one of the best-known dramatic narratives in the Bible. Biblical scholars and archaeologists have investigated the duel from the perspective of archaeology, especially concentrating on the weaponry involved. One aspect of the story that has not been sufficiently studied and clarified is found in 1 Samuel 17:54, which reads, "David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armor in his tent." These rather enigmatic statements will be the focus of this paper. We will investigate what is the significance of removing Goliath's head to Jerusalem, a Jebusite stronghold, and we will attempt to resolve the question of "whose tent" was taken and why. By carefully examining the text of 1 Samuel 17:54 and offering some contextual data about ancient Near Eastern military practice, we will attempt to answer what was behind David's strange antics after slaying the Philistine champion. Furthermore, these questions will be examined within the present debate about the historiographical value of 1 Samuel 17 as raised by I. Finkelstein and A. Yadin who have independently proposed Greek influence on the biblical narrative.

Introduction

David son of Jesse, the dynastic progenitor of the kings of Judah, has been the subject of countless studies by biblical scholars and archaeologists during the past two decades. The Bible's portrayal of David as a powerful conquering monarch has been questioned in recent years as literary studies of the Hebrew books of Samuel have challenged their historiographic intent, and even the historicity of the biblical character has been questioned.[1] This negative assessment was challenged in the view of many by the discovery in 1993 and 1994 of the Tell Dan fragmentary stela with *byt dwd*, "house of David" on it. That in turn has produced scores of articles and studies about David and his dynasty. In fact, within a decade of the discovery of the first fragment, Lawson Younger has documented, no fewer than 95 articles and one monograph had been published on this text, and more has followed.[2]

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[1] Some recent monographs that take up the question of the historicity of David include McKenzie, *King David: A Biography*; Halpern, *David's Secret Demons*; Thompson, *The Messiah Myth*; Finkelstein and Silberman, *David and Solomon*; Van Seters, *The Biblical Saga of King David*.

[2] Younger, "'Hazael, Son of a Nobody'." For a more recent discussion of the text and an up-to-date bibliography, see Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription*. I am grateful to professor Hagelia for giving me a copy of his monograph.

In addition to the recent Tell Dan reference, Andre Lamaire has proposed a previously unrecognized reading of *byt dwd* in the Mesha Stela.[3] And finally Kenneth Kitchen has proposed a possible reading of David as a toponym in the Shishak/Shoshenq list at Karnak.[4] These references to the dynasty of David or David notwithstanding, questions remain surrounding the historical David.

David and Goliath in Recent Research

Indubitably David's victory over the Philistine champion, Goliath, is one of the best-known stories in the Old Testament. In recent years scholars have devoted considerable attention to textual issues surrounding the David and Goliath episode, particularly examining the differences in the textual traditions preserved in the Septuagint (LXX) and the Hebrew (MT).[5] Because of what appears to be an alternative tradition that Elhanan killed Goliath of Gath (2 Sam. 21:19), some biblical scholars have distanced themselves from the traditional understanding that David slew Goliath, preferring to see that David's biographers embellished the Elhanan story and transformed it into a legendary or romantic story about David.[6]

Over sixty years ago, A.M. Honeyman proposed that Elhanan was the birth name, while David was his throne name.[7] McCarter demurs, pointing out that this solution creates more problems than it resolves.[8] Indeed both Elhanan and David are identified as Bethlehemites, but their patrimony is not the same, Jaare-oregim and Jesse respectively. There is no dispute that there are serious textual problems with 2 Samuel 21:19 and various emendations have been proposed.[9] Rather than viewing the Chronicler's version of this verse (1 Chron. 20:5) as an attempt to harmonize 1 Samuel 17 and 2 Samuel 21:19 and resolve the conflicting testimonies, it has been suggested that the Chronicler actually better preserves the earlier Hebrew text behind 21:19: "Elhanan the son of Jair struck down Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite" (1 Chron. 20:5).[10]

[3] Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription."

[4] Kitchen, "A Possible Mention of David in the Late 10th Century BCE, and Deity *Dod as Dead as the Dodo?"

[5] Several recent monographs devoted to text critical and literary questions are Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel*; Barthélemy, *et al., The Story of David and Goliath* and Isser, *The Sword of Goliath*. The latter has a fairly comprehensive bibliography on critical issues surrounding this narrative.

[6] See the sources cited in note 1.

[7] Honeyman, "The Evidence for Regnal Names among the Hebrews."

[8] McCarter, *I Samuel*, 291.

[9] McCarter, *II Samuel*, 449; Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 255.

[10] For a helpful treatment of the text of 2 Sam. 21:19, see Harrison, *Introduction to*

One reason for preferring this reading is that it is hard to believe that a redactor at some point in the history of the transmission of the text of 2 Samuel 21 would not have simply deleted verse 19, thereby removing the "smoking gun," which would allow David to be the unambiguous slayer of Goliath.

As mentioned above, there has been a plethora of studies devoted to the differences between the LXX tradition and the MT.[11] The Septuagint preserves a shorter and longer version of 1 Samuel 17, while the shorter edition consists of vss. 1-11, 32-49, and 51-54.[12] While the intention of this paper is not to address these textual issues directly, it is fitting, however, to note that these differences do not effect 1 Samuel 17:54, the focus of the present study.

Until recently scholars who have examined Goliath's weapons and armor against ancient analogues have concluded that the portrayal is an authentic one that fits the 11th century BC, with some Aegean connections. Yigael Yadin, for example, argued that the weaponry accords with "the beginning of the Davidic period,"[13] and derives from Aegean originals.[14] Others have largely agreed with Yadin's observations. Lawrence Stager, the excavator of Ashkelon and specialist on the Philistines, along similar lines maintains that "At the very least, Goliath was equipped much more like an Achaean warrior, complete with bronze greaves on his legs, than like a Canaanite or Israelite soldier (for whom greaves were totally alien)."[15] A decade later he expanded his argument, drawing attention to the non-Semitic terms used in 1 Samuel 17 to describe his protective gear, concluding that "Goliath was armed like a Mycenaen warrior."[16] Similarly Jo Ann Hackett echoes this view, noting that Goliath "is armed like the Mycenaean warriors depicted on the famous 'Warrior Vase' found at Mycenae" from the 12th century BC.[17] Recent studies of the David's rise to power narratives are trending in the opposite direction, especially viewing the David and Goliath duel as based on folktales. Stanley Isser's monograph advocates such an understanding,[18] while Thomas

the Old Testament, 704.

11 See all the 1 Samuel commentaries cited here, and the works of Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel*; the essays of Barthélemy, *et al.* in *The Story of David and Goliath*; Isser, *The Sword of Goliath,* 5-21; Van Seters, *The Biblical Saga of King David*, 137-62.

12 See references in previous note.

13 Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands II*, 265.

14 Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands II*, 354-55.

15 Stager, *Ashkelon Discovered*, 17.

16 King and Stager, *Life in Biblical Israel*, 228.

17 Hackett, "'There Was No King in Israel': The Era of the Judges," 169.

18 Isser, *The Sword of Goliath*, 2-3.

Thompson identifies this story as a "heroic legend,"[19] and John Van Seters as "saga."[20] On literary grounds, then, analysis of Samuel 17 sees the pendulum swinging in a minimalistic direction.

To the problems posed by literary studies, we can now add Israel Finkelstein's challenge, published in 2002, that examines Goliath's armor in 1 Samuel 17 in the light of archeological data. He concludes that this evidence squares with the regalia of the 7th century BC,[21] preferring this date because he believes the Deuteronomistic History was written at that time and the authors could only retroject the culture of their own days back to David's era. Contrary to the views of Yadin, Stager and others that Goliath appears as a Mycenaean/Aegean type warrior of the early Iron Age, Finkelstein proposes that he is depicted as a Greek hoplite because such soldiers would have been known to the Judeans during the Egyptian 26th Dynasty.[22] While he acknowledges that "it is true that every single item in the description of Goliath's armament can be compared to Aegean weapons and armour from the Mycenaean period to Classical times,"[23] he prefers the 7th century association. Finkelstein offers no new evidence, but points to the rising influence of Greek mercenaries in the army of Pharaoh Psammetichus I, and then asserts that armaments of the Philistine champion "perfectly fits" those of the Greek hoplites.[24]

It is stunning that Finkelstein on the same page can admit that "every single item in the description of Goliath's armaments can be compared to Aegean weapons from the Mycenaean period" and then claim that the armaments "perfectly fits" the Greek hoplites! Both assertions cannot be correct. (A critique of the archaeological evidence used by Finkelstein will be treated below).

A literary and archaeological study appeared by Azzan Yadin in 2004 that came to similar conclusions as those of Finkelstein.[25] He also examines the weaponry of Goliath against archaeological data from 11th century Philistine culture, and opines that "1 Samuel xvii is not a historically accurate portrayal of 11th century Philistine culture, rather represents a putatively ancient event in light of the 'Philistine' culture contemporary to the

[19] Thompson, *The Messiah Myth*, 304-05.

[20] Van Seters, *The Biblical Saga of King David*.

[21] Finkelstein, "The Philistines in the Bible: A Late-Monarchic Perspective."

[22] Finkelstein, "The Philistines in the Bible: A Late-Monarchic Perspective," 142-48.

[23] Finkelstein, "The Philistines in the Bible: A Late-Monarchic Perspective," 143.

[24] Finkelstein, "The Philistines in the Bible: A Late-Monarchic Perspective," 143.

[25] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory."

6th century (or later) redactor."[26] He then offers a literary study in which he concludes that the dueling champion motif like the David and Goliath story does not really fit the Near Eastern parallels cited by others like those in the Egyptian story of Sinuhe (see below) and Marduk and Tiamat in Enuma Elish. Like Finkelstein, A. Yadin calls attention to the increasing Greek presence in Egypt and influence in the Levant in the 6th century,[27] and advocates the theory that Greek Homeric tradition in which champions fight as representatives of their respective armies aligns better with the Biblical story.[28] Consequently he dismisses early Near Eastern duel stories as parallels because they lack this representative element.

As noted years ago by K. Galling, Goliath's armor consisted of a combination of elements of Aegean origin along with Levantine ones.[29] The reason for the eclectic description, he maintained, is for literary purposes to portray Goliath's might. This observation influenced Finkelstein and A. Yadin. Both recognize that the Philistine's armaments consist of Semitic and non-Semitic terms,[30] leading A. Yadin to declare that the "archaeological evidence concerning the Philistine does not accord with the biblical description of Goliath."[31] The main piece of "archaeological evidence" on which he (and Finkelstein) depends for this conclusion is the depiction of the Sea Peoples from Medinet Habu, Ramesses III's mortuary temple. The famous scenes show the Philistines in their characteristic "feathered helmets," with short swords and small circular shields (ones that would not require a shield-bearer, *cf.* 1 Sam. 17:41).

My initial response to Finkelstein and A. Yadin's comparison of Egyptian Sea Peoples' reliefs with Goliath's weapons and armor is that they operate with the misguided assumption that in the century and a half between the days of Ramesses III[32] to the late 11th century – the probable date for Saul's reign when the duel occurred – Goliath's weaponry should remain exactly the same. Methodologically a more fitting comparison between Goliath's weapons in 1 Samuel 17 would

[26] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 385.

[27] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 381-82.

[28] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 379-80.

[29] Galling, "Goliath und seine Rüstung."

[30] Finkelstein, "The Philistines in the Bible: A Late-Monarchic Perspective," 142-43. A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 372-76.

[31] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 375.

[32] Ramesses III's dates are 1184-1153 BC (following Kitchen's chronology: "Methods of Humanities and Sciences for Absolute Chronology," 49. The 8th regnal year of Ramesses III, when the Sea Peoples invasion occurred, would be *c.* 1176/5 BC.

be with actual weapons discovered in recent excavations at the Philistine sites of Gaza, Ashdod, Qasile, Ekron, Ashkelon and Tell es-Sâfi (Gath) from the 11th century. Such a study still cannot take place because of an inadequate collection of surviving Philistine weapons, despite the significant number of recently excavated Philistine sites, some of which are ongoing. Until there is sufficient data for such a comparative study, scholars should withhold a final judgment on this matter. It is simply not compelling to argue that 1 Samuel 17's depiction of Goliath's arms does not fit the 11th century when the requisite data for such a comparative study does not exist.

A number of critical evaluations of more minimalist readings of David and Goliath duel quickly followed Finkelstein and A. Yadin's articles. Philip King's analysis of Goliath's weapons in the Seymour Gitin Festschrift is worth mentioning.[33] Contrary to Finkelstein's conclusion, King determines that "Goliath's bronze helmet, cuirass, greaves, long range bronze javelin, spear with socketed blade, shield-bearer, and sword have their counterparts in the repertoire of a Mycenaean soldier."[34] He flatly rejects the portrayal of Goliath as a 7th century Greek hoplite.

In the Lawrence Stager Festschrift, Alan Millard likewise offered a critical response to Finkelstein and A. Yadin.[35] Most recently, Moshe Garsiel wrote a comprehensive critique of the recent minimalistic literary and archaeological readings of this classic narrative.[36] One helpful observation he makes is that Greek hoplites were the common soldier, whereas Goliath's description as an elite warrior is anything but "common." Millard likewise stresses this point, arguing "a champion surely had the power to choose whatever equipment he wanted."[37] He further observes that hoplites did not wear scaled armor, but Goliath does (1 Sam. 17:5 – שִׁרְיוֹן קַשְׂקַשִּׂים.[38] שִׁרְיוֹן is a word of Hurrian origin, and is attested in 13th century Egypt when Ramesses II in the battle of Kadesh dons his armor (Egy. *Ṯu r-nꜣ = šỉryani*).[39] So it is unlikely that this element came to the Hebrew writer via Classical Greek literature or hoplites. Millard also notes that while the duels in the Iliad mention the weapons and at times the materials out of which they were made, never do they offer the weight of the various utensils as we find in 1 Samuel

33 King, "David Defeats Goliath."
34 King, "David Defeats Goliath," 355.

35 Millard, "The Armor of Goliath."
36 Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath."
37 Millard, "The Armor of Goliath," 338.
38 Millard, "The Armor of Goliath," 339.
39 Hoch, *Semitic Words in Egyptian Texts of the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period*, 367.

17:5-7.[40]

Further on the comparisons with the Iliad, A. Yadin is dismissive of literary parallels to the David and Goliath clash, such as in the Egyptian Sinhue story or between Marduk and Tiamat in Enuma Elish, on the grounds that these are not "representative" duels.[41] Conspicuous by its absence in Yadin's survey of supposed literary parallels is one between Hattusilli III and the commander of the army of Kaška that Harry Hoffner likened to the David and Goliath contest over 40 years ago.[42] He would likely reject this story as a genuine "parallel" because the narrative is not explicitly identified as a "representative" duel. Hoffner, however, argued that it was indeed a "representative" fight.[43]

I would argue that even though different types of duels existed in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds, they nevertheless shared some common elements. Consequently, it is arbitrary to dismiss certain types of one-on-one combat reports for comparative purposes with the David and Goliath narrative just because they are not "representative" type fights.

A. Yadin is undoubtedly correct that some of the biblical duels, such as those of Benaiah and the Egyptian[44] (2 Sam. 23:20-21) and the twelve fighters of the respective generals Abner and Joab (2 Sam. 2:12-17), are not suitable for comparative study with 1 Samuel 17.[45] He maintains that genuine parallels to the David and Goliath duel require the single combat of champions who represent their respective armies, a feature that is found in the Iliad. In his opinion, this Greek literary tradition provides the inspiration for the biblical story.[46] The idea behind such representative dueling was to minimize bloodshed, a point also made by Garsiel.[47] In the Iliad, the idea is of reducing bloodshed and bringing the battle to the end originated with Athena who discusses her concern with Apollo, who in turn proposes the representative duel:

> We could rouse the hard spirit of Hector
> And have him challenge one of the Greeks
> to fight against him, man to man.

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[40] Millard, "The Armor of Goliath," 340.

[41] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 378-81.

[42] Hoffner, "A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions?"

[43] Hoffner, "A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions?," 220.

[44] The reality is that we know nothing about the circumstances of this fight see, Hoffmeier, "Egypt as an Arm of Flesh: A Prophetic Response," 80.

[45] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 378-81.

[46] A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 379-80.

[47] Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 411.

> The Greeks would be indignant and rouse someone
> To battle Hector in single combat (Book 7: 40-45).[48]

Through means that are not specified, Troy's seer Helenus divined the plan and communicated it to Hector, who then announced it to the "Trojans, and Achaean warriors" (Book 7:47-70). Noticeably absent from 1 Samuel 17 is the role of the divine council or a deity. YHWH the God of Israel is not the one who proposes the representative contest. Rather the challenge comes from the Philistine champion himself (1 Sam. 17:8-10) who declares a winner-take-all outcome to the duel. Although this confrontation was from the Philistine side, and one would think that they would have been most familiar with the practice of representative singular combat, ironically when their champion was felled, they did not surrender but fled (1 Sam. 17:50-51).[49]

Another central feature in this section of the Iliad is the role played by the seer Helenus. Given the prominence of Samuel the seer (הָרֹאֶה) from the anointing of Saul to that of David (1 Sam. 9-16), his absence in the very next chapter in the David and Goliath narrative is startling. If this Greek classic provides the literary stimulus for 1 Samuel 17, the omission of the both the role of God or the divine council and the seer is especially hard to explain since both are regular features in Hebrew narratives.[50]

The foregoing discussion shows that the "parallels" between the Iliad and the David and Goliath story are not as exact as A. Yadin would have us believe. This is not to say that there are no similarities between the Hebrew and Achaean traditions, but as Garsiel cogently observes: "the similarities of Homer's epics and the biblical story at issue are not an outcome of direct borrowings. But they are a result of separate descriptions referring to two different ancient nations (the Mycenaeans and the Philistine) that were rather close in terms of identity and material culture."[51]

New Related Archeological Data

Since Finkelstein and A. Yadin's archaeology-based studies of 1 Samuel 17, two pertinent archaeological discoveries need to be mentioned. The first find is an ostracon discovered at Tell es-Sâfi (Gath) in 2005, a scientific study of which was recently published.[52] Appar-

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48 Homer, *Iliad*, 129. All translations in this paper are from this edition.

49 Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 412-23.

50 Mullen, *The Assembly of the Gods*; Meier, *Themes and Transformations in Old Testament Prophecy*,19-27.

51 Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 408.

52 Maeir, *et al.*, "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron Age II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell es-Sâfi/Gath."

ently two Philistine or Indo-European personal names are etched into the sherd, which on ceramic grounds dates to the late 11th to the first half of the 9th century.[53] The script is Canaanite despite being from a Philistine site and within the Philistine horizon, demonstrating that this ethnic group from the Aegean/Anatolian world and speakers of an Indo-European language had adapted the local script.[54] The reading, *alwt/wlt* […], appears to contain two personal names. They are not Semitic, and most likely are of Indo-European origin. Aren Maeir and his colleagues demonstrate that the word *alwt* is a "virtual perfect match" for the Anatolian name, Alyattes.[55] Some have suggested that the name Goliath derives from this Anatolian personal name,[56] however, linguistic problems with this correlation were noted by Maeir.[57] Thus while a clear association between the names on the Sâfi ostracon and Goliath of Gath of 1 Samuel 17 cannot be made, Maeir opines: "With the recent discovery of the inscription from Tell es-Sâfi/Gath dating to the 10th-9th centuries BCE (approximately a century after the time of David), mentioning names quite similar to Goliath, suggests that in fact, the biblical narrative can easily be related to a historical reality of the earlier parts of the Iron Age."[58]

The second archaeological development relevant to the events of 1 Samuel 17 is the current excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa, situated between Socoh and Azekah, on a hill overlooking the Elah Valley, scene of the Philistine-Israelite battle and the context of the combat between Goliath and David (*cf.* 1 Sam. 17:1-3, 19). The third season of excavations concluded in 2009, revealing that this is a one period Iron Age site that dates to the 10th century, although there are Hellenistic period remains.[59] Its elevated position over the Elah Valley, combined with its 10th century date, leads Yosef Garfinkel, the excavator, to conclude that this defensive site was explicitly constructed at this strategic point to monitor Philistine activities. Because this fort is uniquely equipped with two gates, Garfinkel speculates that this site could be Sha'araim ("two gates"),

[53] Maeir, *et al.*, "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron Age II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell es-Sâfi/Gath," 47-48.

[54] Maeir, *et al.*, "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron Age II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell es-Sâfi/Gath," 50-59.

[55] Maeir, *et al.*, "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron Age II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell es-Sâfi/Gath," 58.

[56] Ehrlich, "Goliath."

[57] Maeir, *et al.*, "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron Age II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell es-Sâfi/Gath," 58-59.

[58] http://faculty.biu.ac.il/~maeira/project.html.

[59] Garfinkel and Ganor, *Khirbet Qeiyafa: Excavation Reports 2007-2008*. For the 2009 season, see Garfinkel, *et al.*, "Khirbet Qeiyafa, 2009."

mentioned in 1 Samuel 17:52.[60] This short-lived site could owe its brief history to the success of David over the Philistines (2 Sam. 5:22-25), and their becoming a vassal state of Israel.

While these two new lines of evidence do not directly impact the contest between David and Goliath, they shed light on the setting of the narrative. The Tell es-Sâfi ostracon demonstrates the existence of similar Philistine names to that of Goliath, dating no later than a century after the traditionally understood reign of David. Then too, Khirbet Qeiyafa illustrates that the Israelites had constructed a military stronghold in the 10th century, in the very period when the Bible reports that King Saul and the Israelites were at war with the Philistines in the Elah Valley. The importance of the Elah Valley to Israel for agriculture purposes, not to mention its strategic position militarily, means that the Philistines were encroaching on Israelite territory. If taken, the Philistines could then move into the heartland of Benjamin and Judah.[61] This of course is the setting for the duel between the Philistine and Israelite champions, and why the outcome of the battle was so significant to Israel's security.

To this point we have reviewed some of the recent literary and archaeological discussions surrounding the David and Goliath episode, and scholars remain divided on how to read the narrative, and what historical conclusions can be drawn from it. While most scholarly attention has focused on various aspects of the narrative, there has been no serious investigation of David's actions after the clash, especially 1 Samuel 17:54. To this we now turn.

The Text of 1 Samuel 17:54[62]

Part of the problem with understanding David's peculiar antics is because there are two vexing exegetical problems with this verse that have remained elusive to commentators. The verse reads:

וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת-רֹאשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי, וַיְבִאֵהוּ יְרוּשָׁלָ͏ִם; וְאֶת-כֵּלָיו, שָׂם בְּאָהֳלוֹ.

> And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem,
> but he put his armor in his tent. (ESV)

The first issue is the reference to

[60] Garfinkel, "Khirbet Qeiyafa: Sha'arayim."

[61] On the significance of the Philistine-Israelite battle over the Elah Valley, see recently, Beck, "David and Goliath, A Story of Place"; Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 393-96.

[62] Some of the ideas presented on the interpretation of 1 Sam. 17:54 were made by the author in a brief article published in a little known journal that soon after publication was discontinued. See Hoffmeier, "The Aftermath of David's Triumph Over Goliath."

Jerusalem as the place where David reportedly took the fallen giant's head. This problem will be dealt with later in the study. The second issue is found in 17:54b, which is usually translated "but he put his armour in his tent" (JPS, RSV, ESV) or "leaving his weapons in his tent" (NEB). The question raised by this text is, whose tent is in mind? "His tent" (אָהֳלוֹ) is somewhat ambiguous as the 3MS suffix pronoun can apply to David or Goliath. Concerning the clause "in his tent" H.W. Hertzberg despaired that "this is an incomprehensible remark."[63]

A number of commentators, including Kyle McCarter[64] and Ralph Klein,[65] believe that "his tent" is that of David. Some recent translations have attempted to show that it is David's tent by rendering אָהֳלוֹ as "his own tent" (*e.g.*, NJPS, NIV). In fact the NIV's translation, as Ronald Youngblood observes, "assumes that David's tent is intended."[66] This understanding of אָהֳלוֹ was also lately accepted by Garsiel.[67] For S.R. Driver, this tent would have been the one used by David while in Saul's service.[68] At an even earlier date C.F. Keil had thought that "tent" was an archaic word for "dwelling place" as in 2 Samuel 4:10; 13:2 and 1 Kings 12:16,[69] and thus David had taken the weapons as trophies of war back to his home in Bethlehem.

David, a visitor to the battlefront, may indeed have had his own tent pitched in the Israelite military camp, although he may just as likely have planned to share the tent of his brothers who served in Saul's army (1 Sam. 17:13-14; 28-30). Since, however, there is no antecedent to אָהֳלוֹ that clearly points to David as the owner, another explanation must be considered. Hertzberg suggested that אָהֳלוֹ is a "miswriting" for אָהֳלִי – the *yod* being an abbreviation for Y(ahweh's) tent.[70] He supports this suggestion by noting that in 1 Samuel 21:9 Goliath's sword was later removed by David from the sanctuary at Nob.[71] The unexpected mention of the sanctuary at Nob, John Day suggests, is due to the abandonment of Shiloh as Israel's principal cult center after the loss of the ark to the Philistines.[72] Isser speculates that if Elhanan was the real killer of Goliath, then the sword may have been dedicated to the deity at Nob by that warrior.[73] The problem with this suggestion is that the priest Ahimelech spe-

[63] Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 154.

[64] McCarter, *I Samuel*, 294.

[65] Klein, *I Samuel*, 181.

[66] Youngblood, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 703.

[67] Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 416.

[68] Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Samuel*, 114.

[69] Keil and Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Old Testament in Ten Volumes,* Vol. II, 185.

[70] Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel,* 154.

[71] Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel,* 154.

[72] McCarter, *I Samuel*, 291.

[73] Isser, *The Sword of Goliath*, 35.

cifically tells David: "The sword of Goliath the Philistine, whom you struck down in the Valley of Elah, behold, it is here wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod" (1 Sam. 21:9), thus clearly connecting the giant's sword to David's victory.

The idea that David dedicated the Philistine's weapons to YHWH at the Tabernacle may find a parallel in the so-called "Apology of Hattusilli (III)." It contains a statement that the Hittite ruler, who reigned from *c.* 1267-1240 BC, dedicated his weapon to Ishtar after defeating the enemy champion.[74] Harry Hoffner has argued that Hattusilli fought against a champion from Kaška in a duel like the combat between David and Goliath.[75] The dedication of the weapon by the victor is a significant detail in the Hittite narrative that possibly shows a similarity between the Hebrew and Hittite stories. However the parallel does not completely work because while David may have devoted the sword of the vanquished Goliath as suggested by its presence at the Nob sanctuary (although the text never expressly states this), Hattusilli dedicates his own weapons, and not those of his vanquished foe. The Hittite king declares, "When I killed the man who was in command, the enemy fled. … The weapon that I held there, I had it inlaid and I deposited it in front of the goddess, My Lady (Ishtar)."[76]

Consequently, Hertzberg's proposal that YHWH's tent was intended is questionable for several reasons. First, if an abbreviation was intended, one might expect יה or יהו to be written rather than just a *yod*, and second, there is no textual evidence for either reading from any manuscript tradition. Additionally, of the other five occurrences of אָהֳלִי in the MT none is an abbreviation for "Tent of Yahweh." Only in one of these cases is the sanctuary even in view. In Jeremiah 10:20 personified Jerusalem speaks in the first person, lamenting the desolation of the temple on Jerusalem, and calling it אָהֳלִי – "my tent."[77] The reference to "tent" may refer to the old "Tent of Meeting" that was somehow incorporated into Solomon's temple (*cf.* 1 Kings 8:4).[78] The Jeremiah refer-

[74] The text of the Apology is published by Goetze, *Hattusilis, Der Bericht uber seine Thronbesteigung*, 19. According to Goetze, the weapons are "*ergriff*."

[75] Hoffner, "A Hittite Analogue to the David and Goliath Contest of Champions?" 220-25.

[76] Hout, "The Apology of Ḫattušili III."

[77] Some commentators understand אָהֳלִי to refer metaphorically to the residence of the people of Jerusalem, see Lundbum, *Jeremiah 1-20*, 605.

[78] Friedman has recently championed the idea, based on 1 Kings 8:4, that the old Tent of Meeting was actually erected within the Holy of Holies of Solomon's temple. See Friedman, "The Tabernacle in the Temple," and *Who Wrote the Bible?*, 174-87. I have supported this proposal also as it makes good sense from the ancient Near Eastern practice of transferring the

ence to "my tent" in connection with the devastation of the temple in 586 BC within which was the Tabernacle is a plausible explanation for the usage of אָהֳלִי.[79] Even if we accept this interpretation of Jeremiah 10:20, אָהֳלִי is not an abbreviation for "Tent of Y(HWH)." Thus even though Hertzberg's attempt to clarify the meaning of "his tent" is ingenious, and has attracted the support of other commentators,[80] it lacks any support from the Bible itself, and therefore should be set aside. Finally, the reality is that if the reference to the sword at the Nob sanctuary in 1 Samuel 21:9 were not read into 1 Samuel 17:54, it is doubtful that the tabernacle would have ever been considered as a possible interpretation of this passage.

If we reject the interpretation that David or the Lord's tent is envisioned here, the only other person in the narrative to which 1 Samuel 17:54 could refer is Goliath himself. John Mauchline gave this interpretation passing consideration in his commentary of Samuel, but summarily dismissed it as "surely unthinkable,"[81] and then with a query, assigns the tent to David, but never states why attributing the tent to Goliath is an "unthinkable" interpretation. I suspect that the reason he at least gave passing mention to this reading is because it makes sense syntactically. Indeed it is my contention that this is the most plausible interpretation of the text itself, which in turn is supported by some striking ancient Near Eastern parallels.

Let us take a closer look at the text. Verse 54 begins by reporting that David "took" the decapitated giant's head and brought it to Jerusalem (וַיִּקַּח דָּוִד אֶת-רֹאשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי, וַיְבִאֵהוּ יְרוּשָׁלִָם). David is also the subject of שָׂם (Qal perfect 3MS) at the beginning of the second clause. However the person changes in the second part of that clause. The 3MS suffix ("his weapons/armor" – וְאֶת-כֵּלָיו) clearly refers to Goliath's weapons, the plural indicating that the act included more than just the sword (although only the sword of all the giant's weapons is mentioned in connection with Nob; *cf.* 1 Sam. 21:9). No exegete known to me thinks that the weapons are David's. Up to this point, there can be little exegetical disagreement. But how do we determine whether אָהֳלוֹ refers to David's or Goliath's tent? To answer this critical question one must consider the context established in the previous verse (17:53), which reads "And the Israelites came back from chasing the Philistines, and they

sanctity of earlier sacred space on later counterparts, see Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai*, 198-203.

79 So argues Holladay, *Jeremiah: A Commentary on the Book of the Prophet Jeremiah Chapters 1-25*, 342.

80 Ackroyd, *The First Book of Samuel*, 135.

81 Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 135.

plundered their camp" – וַיָּשֻׁבוּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל מִדְּלֹק אַחֲרֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּשֹׁסּוּ אֶת מַחֲנֵיהֶם. Naturally the Philistine military camp, like those of other Near Eastern armies, would have been made up of tents, which is implied by the use of the word מַחֲנֶה – "camp."[82] Military scenes from Ramesside Egypt and 8th-7th century Assyria show that tents were used to bivouac troops and kings on campaign.[83] The juxtaposition of the Philistine "camp" in vs. 53 and "tent" in vs. 54 supports the proposal advanced here that Goliath's tent is meant.

ANE Literary and Epigraphic Parallels

The foregoing interpretation is supported by a number of ancient Near Eastern sources. Plundering the enemy's camp after a victory or its abandonment by the defeated army is a commonly attested motif in Near Eastern literature, and it is found elsewhere in the Bible (*e.g.*, Judg. 7:21; 2 Kings 7:16).

A stellar example is found in the Egyptian Story of Sinuhe that in autobiographical style narrates the experiences of a court official living in exile in Syria-Canaan in the early 2nd millennium BC.[84] Not unlike the David and Goliath duel, Sinuhe was challenged to fight by a rival chieftain who is described as a *nḫt*, or champion.[85] Whether or not this is a "representative" fight is irrelevant to the issue at hand. The combat occurred the following morning, and the local clans gathered to watch. The challenger initiated the fight by hurling javelins, which Sinuhe easily dodged, followed by a volley of arrows, which he eluded. Sinuhe then took out his bow and fired a single shot at the charging foe, striking him in the neck. He then approached the fallen aggressor and finished him off with his own axe (*mỉnb*).[86] Then he triumphantly claims, "After hav-

[82] Koehler and Baumgartner, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*, 570.

[83] For examples from Egypt, see Hoffmeier, "Tents in Egypt and the Ancient Near East."

[84] The translation used here is my own, based on the text (R 156-163 & B 110-146) as found in Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories*. Translations can be found in Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* Vol 2, 222-33, and Lichtheim, "Sinuhe."

[85] For a recent treatment of the rather obscure Hebrew expression אִישׁ-הַבֵּנַיִם usually rendered "champion" (RSV, NRSV, JPS, NIV), see Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 439-40. Where A. Yadin sees Greek inspiration to this expression (A. Yadin, "Goliath's Armor and Israelite Collective Memory," 380-81), Garsiel does not (Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 396-97).

[86] It is worth noting that David struck down Goliath with the stone and then finished him off. Similarly Sinuhe's arrow did not kill his opponent, the *coup d'grace* was delivered with the challenger's own axe.

ing stripped his camp, I seized what was in his tent."

From the Sinuhe narrative, we see an example of dueling champions from the Semitic world, which means the practice was known to the Egyptians early in the 2nd millennium BC, before it is attested in Anatolia or the Aegean world. After slaying the challenger, the victor plundered the camp of the vanquished foe. The practice of stripping the tent of one's rival after a defeat is also found in Egyptian royal texts.

This practice is also attested in later historical texts. Thutmose III, Merneptah, and Ramesses III all mention the plundering of their enemies' camps or tents.[87] Thutmose III's actions against the prince of Kadesh, who had instigated the rebellion against Egypt that led to the battle of Megiddo, may help clarify the identity of the owner of the tent in 1 Samuel 17:54.

As reported in the Annals,[88] Thutmose III caught the Asiatic coalition by surprise by approaching Megiddo through the unguarded and dangerously narrow Arunah Pass,[89] sending their armies scurrying for cover in Megiddo, abandoning their tent encampment outside the city.[90] The army proceeded to pillage the horses, chariots, and the camp itself. Then, referring to the prince of Kadesh's tent, the text explicitly states, "Now the tent of [that] feeble [enemy], which was dec[orated with silver], was plundered (*ḥ3ḳ*)."[91] The very next line that might explain why the tent was seized, unfortunately, is obliterated. Following the surrender of Megiddo, the booty list is recorded in the Annals, which explicitly records that the chariots of the Prince of Megiddo, as well as that of the Prince of Kadesh were among the booty, and, most significantly, the seven poles of his tent.[92] No other tent is mentioned in the booty list, just that of the Prince of Kadesh. Evidently Thutmose took the tent of his antagonist as a trophy of war just as he had seized his chariot and its team of horses. Furthermore, by singling out the tent of the ruler of Kadesh the text may have signaled pharaoh's intentions to conquer Kadesh itself, which indeed

87 For Thumose III, see *Urk.* IV, 659.6-7. For Merneptah, see K*RI* IV, 3.5. For Ramesses III, see Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris* I, 76.10.

88 For recent translations, see the author's rendition, Hoffmeier, "Eighteenth Dynasty Inscriptions." See also the new collation of the text and translation by Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, figs 1-9 and 22 ff.

89 Without a doubt the highlight of the conference at University of Haifa was a field trip led by Professor Adam Zertal, who led us through the likely narrow pass to which the Annals are referring. I am very grateful to Professor Zertal and his colleagues for this meaningful experience.

90 *Urk.* IV, 657-659.

91 *Urk.* IV, 659.6-7.

92 *Urk.* IV, 663.12-15; 644.7

occurred a decade later on Thutmose III's 8th Levantine campaign.[93]

Other Near Eastern royal records from the Neo-Assyrian period attest to the practice of taking the tent and weapons of one's adversary as booty. After defeating Merodoch-baladan, Sargon II plundered the abandoned Chaldean camp, announcing "I took away from him his royal tent, his royal golden sunshade (*i.e.*, parasol), the golden scepter, the golden bed, the golden chair, the utensils of gold (and) silver, his pot stands, the trappings (and) equipment of war."[94] A similar fate befell the son of Merodoch-baladan, Nabu-shum-ishkun, by Sennacherib, who says, "Their chariots, wagons, and royal tents I took from them."[95] It is significant that in both cases the royal tent or tents and the contents, as well as the weapons are recorded among the spoils of battle.

Moreover, the removal of a vanquished foe's personal effects for display is attested also in the Old Testament. King Og of Bashan's bed, it might be recalled, was relocated, and apparently put in public view in Rabbah (Deuteronomy 3:11).[96] The deceased King Saul's armor was taken from the battlefield at Mount Gilboa and transported to the temple of Ashtaroth (1 Sam. 31:10). Mauchline proposed Ashkelon as the possible repository.[97] The reference to Ashtarte in this setting is not unexpected given her military attributes.[98] Similarly Hattusilli "deposited" the weapons from his victory of the champion of Kaška before Ishtar, as noted above.

The Egyptian and Assyrian evidence demonstrates that seizing the tent of one's opponent in battle was practiced throughout the Near East in the 2nd and 1st millenniums. I would like to propose that David took Goliath's tent (back to Bethlehem?), along with his weapons,

[93] *Urk*. IV, 696-03. For a discussion of the various sources for the 8th Campaign, see Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, chapter 7.

[94] This recent and unpublished translation is by Younger, based on text in Fuchs, *Die Inscriften Sargons II. Aus Khosabad*, 162-63, lines 350-351a. I am grateful to my colleague for allowing me to use his translation.

[95] *ARAB* II, §357.

[96] While the NEB renders עֶרֶשׂ as "sarcophagus" there is no substantial evidence for this. And the meaning 'bed' or 'bedstead' has recently been defended convincingly by Millard; see "King Og's Bed and Other Ancient Ironmongery."

[97] Mauchline (*1 and 2 Samuel*, 192) thinks that the armor was taken back to the temple in Ashkelon. McCarter prefers the location of the temple to be at Beth-Shean, the same place where the bodies were displayed. Given the practice of the victor dedicating weapons to the deity that sponsored the conqueror, I am inclined to think the Ashtarte temple would have been from Philistine territory. There is no evidence to decide which of the Philistine Pentapolis housed the temple that received the Israelite trophies.

[98] Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 654.

as a trophy of war in keeping with this Near Eastern military tradition. Subsequently, it appears, the sword of Goliath was relocated to the nearby Nob sanctuary, possibly located on Mt. Scopus adjacent to Jerusalem.[99]

The second interpretive problem in verse 54 has two parts to it. First is the unexpected reference to Jerusalem prior to its conquest by David in 2 Samuel 5:6-10, and the second is to what end did David transport Goliath's head to Israel's future capital. Interpreters have long struggled with this part of the verse. Henry Smith in his ICC commentary of 1899 opined that this statement was unhistorical,[100] because Jerusalem was a Jebusite stronghold until later in David's career. More recent commentators consider the mention of Jerusalem to be anachronistic,[101] and that the reference to taking the head there must reflect a later date.[102] The JPS TANAKH contains a marginal note with this verse that reads "after David's capture of Jerusalem (2 Sam. 5)." McCarter suggests that if indeed David took Goliath's weapons to the Nob sanctuary (*cf.* 2 Sam. 21:10), then conceivably the Nob tradition shifted to Jerusalem after it had replaced the earlier site.[103]

Against the notion that this element of the story does not fit or is a creative invention by the author, Joel Rosenberg on literary grounds contends that there is no problem accepting the tradition "at face value."[104] One explanation for David's bizarre act was offered by Mauchline. He wondered if Jerusalem might not have allied itself with Saul against the Philistines, although he recognized that this would not explain why David took Goliath's head to Jerusalem.[105] The Jebusite alliance theory has been revived once again by Garsiel, and he offers an explanation for removing the head to Jerusalem. He theorizes that "Saul had to secure his rear flank by making an agreement with the Jebusite enclave of Jerusalem. Later, the Israelites repaid the Jebusites by delivering Goliath's head to them."[106] Then he adds: "Goliath's head was granted to the Jebusites of Jerusalem as a trophy of war and token of gratitude for their cooperation."[107] Such an explanation is certainly plausible, and indeed it is logical to infer that such an alliance occurred, but there is no

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99 Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge*, 147.

100 Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary of the Books of Samuel*, 163.

101 Ackroyd, *The First Book of Samuel*, 146. Isser, *The Sword of Goliath*, 34.

102 Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 153.

103 McCarter, *I Samuel*, 295.

104 Rosenberg, *King and Kin: Political Allegory in the Hebrew Bible*, 247-48, n. 75.

105 Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 135.

106 Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 395.

107 Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 416.

evidence anywhere in the Samuel narratives to sustain this supposition. Furthermore, parallels of this practice for this reason are unattested. However, Near Eastern texts and iconography suggest another explanation for David's grisly gesture.

Ancient sources are replete with many macabre ways for defiling and exposing corpses of warriors and their body parts. In some instances bodies or parts thereof were transported some distance. The great warrior/pharaoh, Amenhotep II, boasts that he personally slew seven chieftains from Takshy in Syria. Their bodies were then tied upside down for all to see on the prow of his bark as he ferried back from Byblos (?) to Thebes.[108] The bodies of six of the victims were placed on view "on the wall of Thebes," and the seventh was transported south to Napata where his corpse was affixed to the wall of that city.[109] Why would Amenhotep II transport the body of this chieftain another 1500 miles (2400 km) from Thebes to Napata after removing it from Syria? According to the following lines it was "in order to cause that the victories of his majesty be seen for ever and ever."[110] Clearly Amenhotep was announcing his triumphs by graphically illustrating them, while sending an unmistakable signal to the peoples of Nubia that the cost of rebellion against Egypt was dear.

Amenhotep II also is depicted in a triumphal scene driving his chariot back to Egypt after his Levantine campaign.[111] Along with three prisoners of war riding on the back of the chariots horse, and two standing in his chariot, a sixth is tethered to the chariot pole. This figure appears to be dead. In Ramesside times (13th century BC) there are also examples of kings carting the bodies of enemy leaders back to Egypt along with marching POWs. Sety I is shown riding his chariot back to Egypt with the bodies of three enemies, or their heads, on his chariot (Fig. 1).[112] This particular tableau portrays the victorious king's arrival at the east frontier town of Egypt, *viz.* Tjaru (Sile). A similar scene is repeated in his return from his conflict with the Libyans (Fig. 2).[113]

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108 This text is found on the Amada Stela, *cf. Urk.* IV, 1297.1-16; translation in *ANET* 248, and Cummings, *Egyptian Historical Records of the Later Eighteenth Dynasty*, 27.

109 *Urk.* IV, 1297.13-16.

110 *Urk.* IV, 1298.1.

111 Zayed, "Une représentation inédite des campagnes d'Aménophis II," pl. II.

112 Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 6. It is impossible to determine whether the figures shown are alive or dead, or whether the heads only are being displayed or if the remainder of the bodies are obscured by the chariot body.

113 Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, pl. 31.

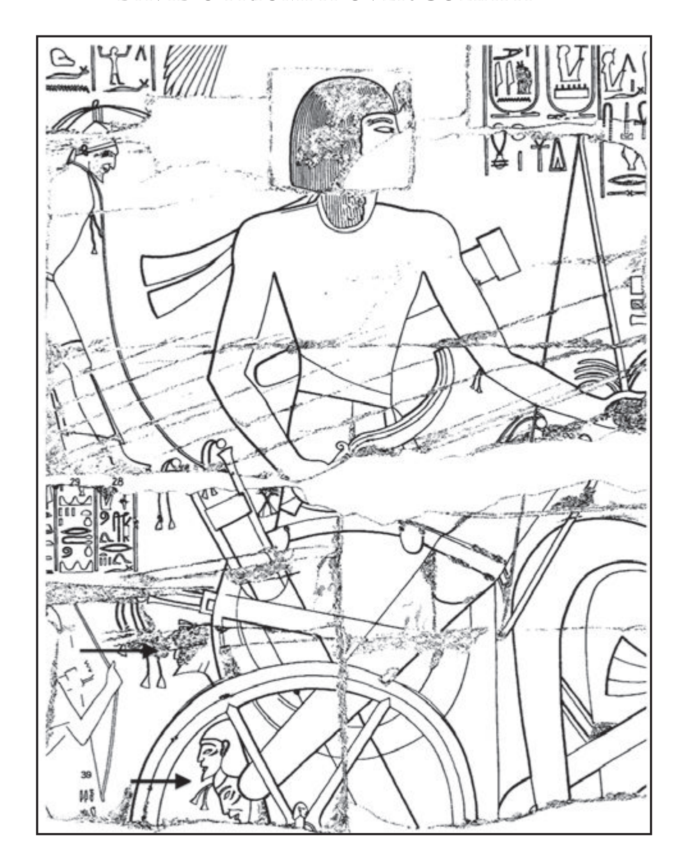


Fig. 1 Sety I Karnak relief showing Shasu victims.
Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, plate 6.

The Assyrians, notorious for their brutal treatment of their enemies, had a number of gruesome practices they employed. Impalement,[114] flaying the skin of victims,[115] and breaking limbs were regularly carried out. But so was decapitation and parading the head in grisly ways (Fig. 3). On some occasions the head of the dead king or chieftain was placed on the back or the shoulders of the descedant's family member or countryman who was marched about publically.[116] In other instances the head of a dead king was displayed at the city gate in Nineveh. This happened to Teumman of Elam whose head was "displayed conspicuously in front of the gate inside Nineveh" claims Assurbanipal.[117] Public exposure of the remains of a vanquished leader, Assurbanipal reports, was to serve as "an object lesson for all lands."[118]

Esarhaddon recounts some of

[114] *ARAB* II, §10, 240, 267, 830.

[115] *ARAB* II, §773, 831, 866.

[116] *ARAB* II, §513, 527, 528, 815.

[117] *ARAB* II, §866.

[118] *ARAB* II, §866.

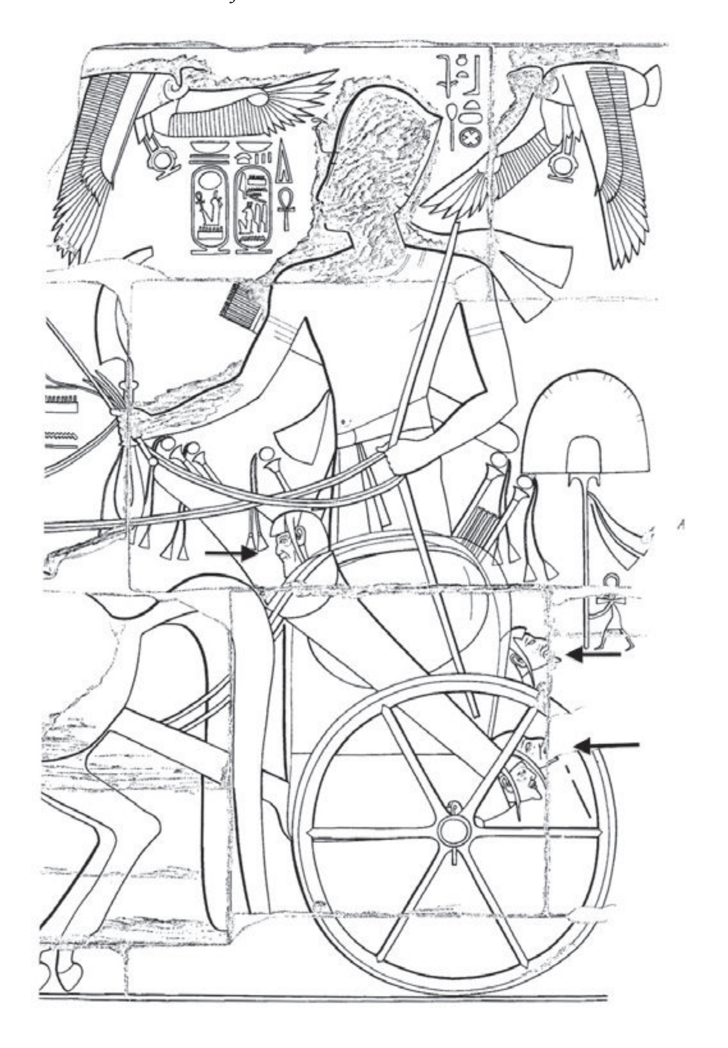


Fig. 2 Sety I Karnak relief showing Libyan victims. Epigraphic Survey, *The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I*, plate 31.

his brutal beheadings, declaring,

> In Tishri, the head of Abdi-Milkutti; in Adar, the head of Sanduarri. And I did not delay (the execution of) the former; and the latter I accomplished in good time. For the sake of displaying to the people the might of Aššur, my lord, I hung (their cut-off heads) around the necks of their notables; and with singers and harps I moved along through the streets of Nineveh.[119]

Esarhaddon records a similar fate for Uabu, an Arab rebel chieftain, who was tied to the gate of

[119] This recent and unpublished translation is by Younger, based on the text in Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*, 49-50. I am grateful to my colleague for drawing this text to my attention and allowing me to use his translation.



Fig. 3 Relief from the wars of Assurbanipal. British Museum.
Author's photo.

Nineveh.[120]

The Hebrew Bible likewise records a number of stories of gruesome posthumous desecration and/or mutilation. The Joshua conquest narratives contain the report of the five Canaanite kings who fled for cover to a cave at Makkedah (Josh. 10:16-27). When extracted by Joshua's forces, they were slain and their bodies hung on five separate trees until evening (Josh. 10:26-27). King Saul met a similar end at the hands of the Philistines. One account is found in 1 Samuel 31:8-20:

> The next day, when the Philistines came to strip the slain, they found Saul and his three sons fallen on Mount Gilboa. So they cut off his head and stripped off his armor and sent messengers throughout the land of the Philistines, to carry the good news to the house of their idols and to the people. They put his armor in the temple of Ashtaroth, and they fastened his body to the wall of Beth-shan.

Saul was decapitated and his body taken to the nearby site of Beth-Shean where his body was somehow hung on the wall for display, possibly with the armor.[121] No explanation is offered in this text or in the Chronicler's report.

His head, according to the Chronicler, was taken to a different location and fastened as a prize in the temple of Dagan in a gesture

120 *ARAB* II, §208. Due to lacuna in the text it is not clear whether Uabu was dead or alive.

121 Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel*, 654.

of triumphalism (1 Chron. 10:10). No explanation is offered in their report on why Beth-Shean was the site for the exposing of the body of king Saul. There is no way of knowing if it was friend or foe. The Philistines were obviously elated at their military successes, and so "sent messengers throughout the land of the Philistines, to carry the good news to their idols and to the peoples" (1 Chron. 10:9). The announcing of "good news" (לְבַשֵּׂר) is mentioned in both reports (1 Sam. 31:9).

Based on these examples from the ancient Near East and the Bible, it might be suggested that David's purpose in taking Goliath's head to Jerusalem reflects the common Near Eastern practice of humiliating one's enemy by displaying the remains of the fallen hero, chieftain or king, and announcing the good news of an enemy's defeat. David's actions in several instances show that he was shrewdly trying to consolidate his claim to the throne after being anointed by Samuel (1 Sam. 16:13).[122] The result of David's defeat of Goliath clearly vaulted him to a leadership status that paved his way to the kingship. In fact, Klein has observed that "while Saul was still nominally king, David was already Israel's leader."[123] He may already have had Jerusalem on his mind to be his future capital. Since it had never been controlled by either tribe of Benjamin or Judah (Judges 1:10 & 21),[124] Jerusalem was politically neutral, and an attractive place to establish a capital in view of longstanding tensions between the north and south.

By taking the giant's head to Jerusalem David was not just announcing his victory over Goliath and the Philistines, but was also putting the Jebusites on notice that just as he defeated the Philistine champion, Jerusalem's demise was only a matter of time. If this suggestion has merit, then transporting the giant's head to Jerusalem – located just about 8 km (*c.* 5 miles) from David's home in Bethlehem – was a very good psychological tactic to demoralize the Jebusites, and on the literary level it foreshadows David's conquest of Jerusalem in 2 Samuel 5. Conse-

[122] His marriage to Michal would have secured his claim (1 Sam. 18:20 ff.). David's marriage to Abigail, Nabal's widow, gave him virtual control over southern Palestine that Saul had never achieved (Mauchline, *1 and 2 Samuel*, 171). David's marriage to Ahinoam is also seen to be politically motivated (Klein, *I Samuel*, 252).

[123] Klein, *I Samuel*, 183.

[124] The Jebusite stronghold has been located on the border between the two territories of Benjamin and Judah, although it fell within the allotted territory of the former (Josh. 18:28). Judges 1 suggests that both Judah and Benjamin tried to take control of Jerusalem. If both reports are accurate, one must conclude that Judah initially attacked Jerusalem (Jud. 1:8), but did not occupy it. It was then reoccupied and Benjamin subsequently attempted to take the city, but failed (Jud. 1:21).

quently the reference to Jerusalem in vs. 54, I would argue, is neither an unhistorical allusion nor anachronistic.

The material considered here helps explain the significance of David's actions of taking the vanquished enemy's weapons and tent as trophies of war. Parallels from Egypt and Assyria from the 2nd and 1st millennia illustrate this practice. Similarly the textual and iconographic data show that removing corpses and body parts for public exposure or display at the city of a third party was a psychological operation practiced during the same span of time. These military practices, I suggest, stand behind David's actions in 1 Samuel 17:54, thereby providing authentic details of the practice of war in the Semitic world.

Plainly the Israelite and broadly Near Eastern practice of defiling the remains of a fallen hero and transporting his body or body parts is absent in the "representative" fighting described in the Iliad. Indeed the victor may take his opponent's weapons and dedicate them to a deity, but the remains in the Anatolian tradition were to be treated with respect. Hector insists that if he is slain,

> My body, though, he will return to my home
> To be honored by the Trojans and their wives.
> If I kill him, if Apollo gives me that glory …
> The corpse I will send back to your hollow ships
> So you long-haired Achaeans can give it burial
> And heap up a tomb by the broad Hellespont (Book 7: 82-89).

In the end the attempts to correlate the David and Goliath combat with those in the Iliad are of limited value to explicate the Hebrew narrative or to account for its origin. In fact the parallels are as unconvincing as the proposal that the portrayal of Goliath was influenced by the 7th century Greek hoplite.

Abbreviations

ANET	Pritchard, J.B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1969.
ARAB	Lukenbill, D.D. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1926-1927.
ESV	English Standard Version (2001)
JPS	Jewish Publication Society (1917)
K*RI* IV	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions IV.* Oxford: Blackwells, 1982
NEB	New English Bible (1970)
NIV	New International Version (1978)
NJPS	New Jewish Publication Society (2003)

NRSV	New Revised Standard Version (1989)
RSV	Revised Standard Version (1952)
Urk. IV	Sethe, K. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterums IV. 4 vols. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961.

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Two Hymns as Praise Poems, Royal Ideology, and History in Ancient Israel and Ancient Egypt: A Comparative Reflection[1]

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Abstract[2]

As is well known, ancient kings commonly celebrated victory in battle with a hymn or poem outlining what happened and praising the deity who provided support. While one encounters these regularly within the biblical corpus, less commonly does one consider similar materials in neighboring cultures. In fact, examination of hymns and poems from ancient Egypt about royal victories – or presumed victories – in battle shows a number of hymns and poems that employ language similar to that found within the biblical corpus. A comparison of 2 Samuel 22, ostensibly authored by David at the victorious conclusion of an undefined battle, with the thirteenth century BCE Israel Stela of Merneptah, that document so beloved by biblical scholars because of its reference to the people Israel, presents many interesting and provocative parallels worthy of discussion. This paper will present some parallels and include discussion of the implications of the similarities and differences.

When one considers discussions about Merneptah's "Israel Stela,"[3] that late 13th century BCE document which includes the oldest known Egyptian reference to the people Israel, generally those discussions focus on the stela's last two and a half lines of the poem's twenty-eight lines where the reference appears. In doing so, the context of the reference gets lost along with the full importance of the stela's purpose – lauding Merneptah's victory over the Libyans – and its consequent presentation of ideology and history. Given the poem's purpose, the content of this stela is not unlike those found in other traditions from the ancient Eastern

[1] I wish to thank the Individual Development Award Committee of the United University Professions of the State of New York and the Faculty Development Funds Committee of SUNY Empire State College for the two awards that enabled me to attend and participate in this conference.

[2] Earlier versions of this paper were presented as follows: Hollis, "Royal and Divine Propaganda"; and Hollis, "Two Hymns as Propaganda." The 1993 paper represents part of the work James K. Hoffmeier and I have done in the Society of Biblical Literature to increase the understanding of biblical scholars of the wider context for the biblical materials, work that began in 1989 when we organized the first meetings of the SBL Egyptology and Ancient Israel group, now a section of that organization.

[3] Cairo Stela Catalog 34025, verso and the Karnak Stela, for the hieroglyphic text of which see Kitchen, "3. Triumph Hymn of Merenptah."

Mediterranean. In order to highlight such similarities, the present discussion focuses on a comparison of the Merneptah document with 2 Samuel 22, an ancient victory hymn attributed to David, seen also in Psalm 18.[4]

As is well known, ancient kings commonly celebrated victory in battle with a hymn or poem outlining what happened and praising the deity who provided support.[5] While one encounters these hymns frequently within the biblical corpus, less commonly does one consider the similarities of the materials from neighboring cultures. In fact, an examination of hymns and poems from ancient Egypt about royal victories – or presumed victories – in battle shows a number of hymns and poems that employ language similar to that found within the biblical corpus.

While the Davidic material does not refer clearly to a specific battle or battles outside of the mention of deliverance from "the hands of Saul" (2 Samuel 22:1), the Merneptah stela presents material about a very specific victory accomplished in his year 5, around 1207 BCE, a victory reported in several other written documents[6] and probably in the Karnak battle reliefs on either side of Ramesses II's copy of the Peace Treaty following his Kadesh battle in the *Cour de la Cachette* of the Karnak temple.[7]

Because the present discussion concerns itself more with the context of how history is presented and its ideological concerns than with precise historical events – simply the knowledge that David engaged in numerous battles, as reflected in both 1 and 2 Samuel – that

[4] As Berlin and Brettler, "Psalms," 1299, note: "Linguistic and stylistic evidence suggest this may be one of the oldest psalms in the Psalter, dating most likely from the tenth century BCE…It is nearly identical to 2 Sam. ch. 22, which based on linguistic evidence, is older than the psalm, though it is unclear if Psalm 18 was copied from 2 Sam. 22 or if they were both copied from a common source." Similarly, Alter states that 2 Samuel 22 is "the probably more authentic text" (Alter, *The Art of Biblical Poetry*, 29). See also the discussion in Cross and Freedman, "A Royal Song of Thanksgiving: II Samuel 22 = Psalm 18," 16, 20.

[5] See, for example, Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*; Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*.

[6] See Fecht, "Die Israelstele, Gestalt und Aussage," 175; and Niccacci, "La Stèle d'Israël," 44. These include the Karnak Libyan War Stela (K*RI* IV, 2-12), the Stela of Kom El-Ahmar/Athribis (K*RI* IV, 19-22), and the granite column of Heliopolis in the Egyptian Museum (K*RI* IV, 23 ff).

[7] See Yurco, "3,200-Year-Old Picture of Israelites Found in Egypt." There has been much discussion about Yurco's identification of the Israelites in these reliefs, for which see, among others, Rainey, "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription and Reliefs." The general consensus appears to understand that Israel is probably not among the reliefs, but important to this discussion is that Merneptah did campaign into Canaan early in his reign.

no specific battle forms the subject of 2 Samuel 22 is less important than the way David presents his battle in general. A number of other initial concerns come to the fore in beginning a consideration of these works,[8] among which are the intended audience, the purpose, and the reality of the history presented. This last, obviously, can really apply only to the Merneptah stela, given the lack of any specific encounter in the Davidic material. Acknowledging, however, that history forms the basis for both poems, how historical is the history presented? What is the history provided?

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries CE, these kinds of questions have engaged numerous commentators across the entire discipline of history,[9] a discussion which has noted that the purpose and position of the original writer, the intended audience, the mode of transmission, the time frame relative to its generation, and the context of the writing all play a part in what is presented and how. As K. Lawson Younger has written, "The historical work is always the historian's interpretation of events, being filtered through vested interest, never in disinterested purity."[10] The historian, be he or she chronicler, hymnist, poet, playwright, or novelist, even textbook writer, always filters and arranges materials; the historian, ancient or modern, edits the material and must do so. Indeed Mark Zvi Brettler has noted that prior to the 19th century CE, "history was typically didactic in nature, teaching readers how to be good citizens or how to lead proper religious lives."[11]

Thus the investigator, who has his or her own reasons for inquiry, needs to account for the materials' manipulative nature, their intent being to present a specific and convincing concern or message, commonly understood as propaganda.[12] At the same time, as Keith Whitelam has observed,

> It cannot be emphasized too strongly that it is *not* the case that the (ancient) propagandist is necessarily concerned with some form of conscious deception…

[8] For a discussion of the lack of attention paid by scholars to the rest of Merneptah's stela, see, for example, Niccacci, "La Stèle d'Israël," 44.

[9] For example, Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*; Barrera, "On History Considered as Epic Poetry"; Carr, "Place and Time: on the Interplay of Historical Points of View"; Walton, *Ancient Near Eastern Thought and the Old Testament*; Van Seters, "The Historiography of the Ancient Near East"; and many others such as Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth About History*; Gilderhus, *History and Historians*; and Finley, *The Use and Abuse of History*.

[10] Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 96.

[11] Brettler, "Introduction: Nevi'im," 452. See also Meyers, "Joshua: Introduction," 464.

[12] For example, Niccacci, "La Stèle d'Israël," 96.

> (and furthermore) [t]he nature and function of propaganda cannot be understood in isolation from its wider social setting and in particular the specific audience addressed.[13]

Neither the presenters of the ancient materials nor the audience can be separated from the history or ideology of their culture, and equally, neither can be considered apart from their own needs at the time. The ancient audience in particular will need support and reassurance in times of upheaval, be the latter war, famine, uncertain rule, transition, or any other disruptive force, and quite often it is the satisfaction of one or more of these needs that underlies or even appears in the materials in question. In fact, one or more of these needs may even lead to the development of the document.

Likewise, the nature of presenting history affects what is transmitted, for although history writing may claim to relate what "really" happened, it is, as Younger has written, rather "a discourse that claims to be a record of fact,"[14] and it "is *always* the imposition of form on the past… (which is) constructed from a particular point of view."[15] Indeed when one thinks about it, not only can the whole truth not be known from any one perspective, but any telling or retelling of an event or series of events necessarily compresses and abridges the materials, since such a telling or retelling occurs in a different time and space. Thus exact replication is impossible due to the movement of time and the change of space, and in the narratives of past events, there occurs, as noted by Jack Goody, "'(an) unobtrusive adaptation of past tradition to present needs'."[16] In sum, a shaping of the past is inherent within the telling of history.

An understanding of the intended audience comprises another critical issue in an examination of ancient materials. In written form, the way these documents come to the modern world, the authors necessarily originate from among the literate elite. Literacy was limited to a few in second millennium BCE Egypt,[17] as was the case in the

[13] Whitelam, "The Defence of David," 66-67. My emphasis. Here one encounters the three characteristic criteria defined for literature: fictionality, intertextuality, and reception (audience), for a discussion of which see Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature: Ancient Texts and Modern Literary Theory," 214; and Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature," 43-52. In addition, discussion of these criteria appears in Hollis, "Egyptian Literature," 90-91.

[14] Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 43.

[15] Younger, *Ancient Conquest Accounts*, 44. Italics are in the original. See also the references in n. 11 above.

[16] Quoted in Younger, 46.

[17] The number is disputed, but in no place or time does it appear to be more than ten percent and then only in a very specific places, for which see particularly

tenth, ninth, and eighth centuries in Israel.[18] Given that each culture shows evidence of strong oral traditions, oral presentation was likely the original mode of transmission for much of the biblical material and certainly some of the Egyptian as well.[19] Thus while one can think of a reading audience, one must also include a hearing audience. Even the hearing audience, however, most likely was comprised of those officials and elites who had some relation to the ruler and his court, with which idea one encounters a need to look at both the audience and the purpose of these texts – at least in so far as a twenty-first century CE audience can discern them.

Given that the target audience in these ancient cultures was comprised primarily of the members of court and privileged groups rather than the general population, the materials must have addressed the beliefs and customs of the culture's leaders and their immediate entourage.[20] Thus the nature and composition of this "target audience" and its needs must be kept in mind relative to all ancient materials,[21] as suggested earlier, along with the concerns, ideological and otherwise, which the narrator wished to propound in the materials. For example, Whitelam has presented a cogent argument in support of perceiving 1 Samuel 9 through 1 Kings 2 as "The Defence of David" in his assertion that "[o]ne of the striking characteristics of the traditions about David is the defence against real or imagined accusations."[22] Simultaneously he notes that the descriptions of David's rise coincide with those showing the downfall of Saul. Since the target audience for this material was clearly the Davidic court and related privileged groups and thus must address their beliefs and customs,[23] one expects to see the Davidic king in this material presented as a strong, dynamic leader, successful warrior, and upholder of religious and cultic values. And such is indeed the case.

A close reading of 2 Samuel 22, a small part of Whitelam's defined whole, aptly illustrates the point. This hymn clearly draws on materi-

Baines, *Visual & Written Culture*; Lesko, "Literacy"; and Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, Chapter 4.

[18] For example, see Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*, Chapter 6; and Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word.*

[19] That reading was verbalized regularly in both cultures appears generally in discussions of literacy, particularly in the training of scribes, in the cultures of the ancient Eastern Mediterranean world. Discussions appear in the following: Carr, *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*; Baines, *Visual & Written Culture*; and Kelber, "Orality and Biblical Studies: A Review Essay."

[20] Whitelam, "The Defence of David," 76.

[21] Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 29.

[22] Whitelam, "The Defence of David," 70.

[23] Whitelam, "The Defence of David," 76.

als found elsewhere in Samuel and on the Davidic narratives in general and follows a list of the king's successful exploits against the Philistines in 2 Samuel 21:15-22 and preceding the poem of 2 Samuel 23, called "the last words of David,"[24] while providing no real historical context for a specific battle.

The text opens with a one verse introduction and the incipit for the second verse, naming David as the hymnist, who calls upon and praises the Lord as his support, refuge, and shield, and as his rescuer in time of dire distress. The Lord's response, reported in verses 8 through 16, appears as various forms of natural turmoil: earthquakes, erupting volcanoes, thunderstorms, lightning, and tidal waves, common manifestations of divine presence not only for the ancient Israelites but also for other ancient peoples as well, as Egyptologists will recognize from texts such as the so-called "Cannibal Hymn," Pyramid Utterance 273-74.[25]

The next four verses, 17 through 20, report the general deliverance of the hymnist from his troubles and terror, ending with the phrase: "He rescued me because he was pleased with me."[26] The particular emphasis on the Lord's care for him shows the important sensibility that David was the recipient of the special attention of the deity because the hymnist had done well in the eyes of the deity. Such attention was needed to be an effective, indeed a legitimate, ruler, an important point in a king's success in war.[27]

In the following section, verses 21 through 28, one finds the justification for the Lord's attention to the ruler: the latter acts justly, is pure, has kept the ways of the Lord, and has not fallen away from them. Here the hymn asserts that the Lord treats his supplicant as that person treats him. In fact, it is the Lord who assists the hymnist, who declares:

> With my God I can rush a barrier,
> With my God I can scale a wall
> …
> He is a shield to all who take refuge in Him.[28]

After identifying the god as the Lord who provides speed and training for battle in verses 32 through 37, the hymn turns its focus from the relationship between the deity and the king to the battle about which the poem is concerned, like-

[24] 2 Samuel 23:1.

[25] Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*, §393a-c; Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 80; and Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 50. For discussion see Eyre, *The Cannibal Hymn*, 76-77.

[26] 2 Samuel 22:20. Quotations from the biblical text follow that of *The Jewish Study Bible*.

[27] See, for example, Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 152.

[28] 2 Samuel 22:30-31.

ly the core around which the hymn developed. In this battle section appears the rhetoric which constitutes a part of David's royal legitimation, his warrior strength:

> I pursued my enemies and wiped them out,
> I did not turn back till I destroyed them.
> I destroyed them, I struck them down;
> They rose no more, they lay at my feet.[29]

In ancient Israel, as elsewhere in the ancient world, above all a king *must* be strong and powerful, and a successful warrior. Commonly extremes of battle and slaughter accompany war descriptions throughout ancient Eastern Mediterranean texts and form part of the royal ideology, the presentation of the past in the way most favorable to the current ruler, justifying, legitimizing, and praising him in his rule. And as noted earlier, while the hymnist does not state which specific battle this is, his description certainly foregrounds the ideal of every battle leader: complete victory over the enemy, even to the point of the latter's total annihilation.[30] The singer then returns to the deity as the one who empowers the warrior-king in battle:

> You have girt me with strength for battle,
> Brought low my foes before me,
> Made my enemies turn tail before me,
> My foes – and I wiped them out.[31]

The following two verses reflect the lack of the Lord's help to the enemy while emphasizing the hymnist's power:

> They looked, there was none to deliver,
> To the Lord, but He answered them not.
> I pounded them like the dust of the earth,
> Stamped, crushed them like the dirt of the streets.[32]

Verses 44 through 46 move from the specific to the universal, pointing to the establishment of a wider rule by the king. An abrupt shift follows with verses 47 through 49 as the hymnist returns to exalting the Lord who gives victory. In the end, the biblical hymnist sings his praise of the Lord, telling of the deity's gracious dealings with his anointed, thus bringing the hymn full circle to its opening verses of praise. As a whole, the hymn affirms the king as chosen of the Lord, one who has acted rightly before and towards the Lord and has received the benefits resulting from right behavior and who furthermore has demonstrated his prowess as a successful warrior enabled by his god in dispatching his enemies.

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29 2 Samuel 22:38-39.

30 See, for example, Joshua 6:21 for *herem* relative to Jericho and Joshua 8:22 relative to Ai.

31 2 Samuel 22:40-41.

32 2 Samuel 22a:42-43.

Turning to the Israel Stela,[33] one finds a similar rhetoric.[34] The text, described by Anthony Spalinger as a royal military inscription without a field daybook as core,[35] is a "highly structured" work with similarities to other compositions in Egyptian literature.[36] Following its formal opening with the date, the royal titulary, and the epithets of Merneptah, the text continues: "Report of his victories (*nḫwt*)…" followed by a number of lines describing the overall effects of the king's triumph. This section basically comprises a royal encomium – the king is at once bull, lord of strength, sunlight dispelling clouds, liberator of his people, victor, and one who allowed the temples to receive their goods. The rhetoric of this section foreshadows that of several later sections and recalls the restoration of order which accompanies the accession of a new king to the throne, highlighting the king's cosmic power, his concern for his people, and the care that he takes for the temples of the gods. In addition, this song of praise speaks of the peace emanating from Merneptah's victories and his ordination by Re as Egypt's protector, the tone and even the specifics of which recall the eulogy at his accession found in the Papyrus Sallier I which begins:

> Be joyful of your heart, the whole land.
> The good times are come.
> A lord – life, prosperity, health! – appears in all the lands;
> Testimony goes down to its place.[37]

Having established that Merneptah brought order to the disordered world, the central core of the poem, really an encomium to the king, describes his triumph over the Libyans. Basically they fled before him, and Merey, their chief, lost all he had including his ability to lead effectively. The section concludes with the announcement of the Libyans' annihilation. The king had to take this action in order to restore cosmic order; it was his duty.[38] Emphasizing the defeat of the Libyans, the stela states that even Seth, the customary divine protector of foreign peoples,[39] turned his back on Merey, and "[b]y his (Seth's) word their villages were ruined" (l.11). The poem's note about Seth's

[33] See n. 3 above for references to the hieroglyphic text. For an extensive discussion of the physical text of the hymn, see Kitchen, "The Physical Text of Merenptah's Victory Hymn (The "Israel Stela")."

[34] This fact is often overlooked by scholars in their focus on the stela's mention of the people Israel. See Ahlström and Edelman, "Merneptah's Israel."

[35] Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 126-27.

[36] Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents*, 207.

[37] Papyrus Sallier I, 8.7-8, found in Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 86. My translation.

[38] For a discussion of this idea, see, for example, Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 135-36.

[39] Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 114.

abandonment of the Libyans stands in stark contrast to the support of Merneptah by Egypt's deities.[40] The god's abandonment of the Libyans also recalls the Israelite deity's lack of response to David's enemies in 2 Samuel 22:42.

After this generalized discussion of Merneptah's defeat of the Libyans which focuses so much on the retreat of their chief, the text observes that only a fool would take on the sovereign of Egypt, implying, of course, that Merey was a fool. More specifically, however, it leads to the affirmation of Egypt as the daughter of the sun-god Pre and the assertion that the son of the sun-god, Merneptah, sits on the throne and

> (13)…None who attacks her people will succeed.
> The eye of every god is after her despoiler,
> She will make an end of all her foes.

Again one can see the similarity with the Davidic material in the assertion in 2 Samuel 44-46 that all peoples are subject to the Israelite ruler.

The Egyptian text then turns again to the Libyans and their defeat, noting that Merey "did evil to all the gods who are in Memphis… (and) the Ennead found him guilty of his crimes" (l.14-15). To counter Merey's evil behavior, the Lord-of-All endowed his son, the Egyptian king, with the sword because of his right behavior toward the gods, the land, and the people. Here one sees a "correct war," one in which the enemy is sinful or evil with resulting flight and/or death.[41] One also finds in this text a clear parallel with the Hebrew text: the Egyptian warrior king was empowered by the gods as a reward for his correct behavior toward them, even as was the Israelite king in response to the king's right action towards the Lord. The Egyptian king's right action appears as that of caretaker or even shepherd-king of his people, a theme common in the biblical texts as well as in numerous other Egyptian texts, appearing in them as early as the Middle Kingdom.[42]

The next section of the Egyptian poem presents a certain ambiguity in its reiteration of the defeat of Merey, "the vile foe," given the king acted as the weapon of the deity while the deity also acted directly.

> Then said Ptah concerning the vile Libyan foe:
> "His crimes (20) are all gathered upon his head.
> Give him into the hand of *Merneptah, Content with Maat,…*
> It is Amun who curbs him (the

[40] See, for example, Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 152.

[41] Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 160-69.

[42] Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers": The Oldest Fairy Tale in the World*, index; Hollis, *The Ancient Egyptian "Tale of Two Brothers". A Mythological, Religious, and Historico-Political Study*, index.

> enemy) with his hand,
> He will deliver him to his *ka* (21) in
> Southern Heliopolis…

Clearly it is not the king's power and strength alone which ensures victory but rather the will of the deity, even as is the case in the Hebrew text. An important note here is that Amun, the chief state god at this time, delivers the enemy to Amun's *ka*, Merneptah. Given that the *ka* constitutes an individual's life force and kings and gods had various of them, that Merneptah is the designated as the *ka* of Amun defines a very close relationship. It can be seen as similar to his being the son of Re, a relationship defined in the king's titulary.

Then follows a song by the people of Egypt praising Merneptah, recalling the first lines of the stela (l.3-4) where Merneptah is acknowledged as the one who dispelled the clouds over Egypt as well as the later delineation of his offerings and the release of his people (l.15-16). Finally one gets to the famous two and a half lines referring to Israel and other foreign peoples of the Syro-Palestinian area, initially under the inclusive epithet, the Nine Bows,[43] a section which appears almost as an "extra" rather than an integral part of the previous material. In the end,

> All lands have unified themselves in peace,
> All who roamed have been subdued
> By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt….

Thus when one views the entire stela, the single mention of Israel merely affirms Merneptah's control of all the surrounding lands, his victories, and his consequent unification of the lands in peace, important elements of pharaonic ideology.

When compared idea to idea, both texts present their kings in an ideological light with the intent of strengthening the particular ruler in the eyes of his people, at least those who comprised his audience, the elite whom he needed to influence and whose support he needed. Not surprisingly, the types of themes for each of the rulers in question are very similar. Both are set in close relation with their deities, having been chosen by that deity as anointed or as son, clearly a part of royal ideology, even legitimation.[44] Oddly perhaps to the non-Egyptologist, while the Davidic hymn focuses on the personal relation of the king to his god, not only does the Israel Stela present the Egyptian king Merneptah as favored and assisted by his god but

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[43] For a discussion of the Nine Bows as used in the course of ancient Egyptian materials, see Uphill, "The Nine Bows." For this particular section, see Uphill, "The Nine Bows," 398-99. Recall as noted previously that the lines of interest to biblical scholars comprise about two and a half lines in the hieroglyphic text of this twenty-eight line piece!

[44] Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*.

it lays a fair amount of stress on the caretaking function of the Egyptian king. This previously noted theme, which appears as early as the Middle Kingdom, continues to serve as part of the royal ideology through subsequent Egyptian history.

For its part, the biblical text emphasizes the hymnist's just acts, pure ways, and observance of divine statutes, certainly in excess of what is present in the Egyptian material. The latter does not lack this sense, however, as demonstrated by the explicit statements that the Egyptian king pleased the deities. He was "right-hearted, kind, (and) gracious," and gave "offerings to the temples," and "let incense be brought to the gods" (l.15-16). Finally, common to both is victory in battle, and likewise similar is the attribution of the respective victories to the support of the appropriate deity, resulting from the right actions/right living of the king.[45]

Baldly expressed, each text presents a royal ideology, one which might be termed propagandistic. While the specifics about the battles fought vary between the two in what one might term an historical sense, each reflects the king's success in his battles, granting virtually no value to the armies that did the fighting,[46] and each text played its part in propagating the royal myth, that collection of symbols, actions, and relationships which legitimized and affirmed the appropriateness of this particular individual on the throne on which he sat.

When viewed from this perspective, one can see that these hymns, whether termed propagandistic or otherwise, served an essential purpose: stabilizing the kingship, even while they lauded the king, his god or gods, and perhaps reflected some version of history. The specific narrations used the fact of war, specific or not, to further the position of the king in a time of uncertainty, the political upheaval that war represents. Thus one can say realistically that at least two texts from the worlds of the Israelites and the Egyptians show a similar use of rhetoric and symbol to confirm and affirm the place of their respective rulers.

Texts of 2 Samuel 22 and the "Israel Stela" (Cairo 34025 [Verso])

2 Samuel 22:1-51[47]

(1) David addressed the words of this song to the Lord when the Lord had delivered him from all his enemies and from the hands of Saul. (2) He said:

> O Lord, my crag, my fastness, (3) my deliverer!
> O God, the rock wherein I take shelter:

[45] Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 135-36.

[46] Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*, 117.

[47] Bar-Efrat, "2 Samuel."

My shield, my mighty champion, my fortress and refuge.
My savior, You who rescue me from violence!

(4) All praise! I called on the Lord,
And I was delivered from my enemies.

(5) For the breakers of Death encompassed me,
The torrents of Belial terrified me;
(6) The snares of Sheol encircled me,
The coils of death engulfed me.

(7) In my anguish I called on the Lord
Cried out to my God;
In His Abode He heard my voice,
My cry entered his ears.

(8) Then the earth rocked and quaked,
The foundations of the heavens shook –
Rocked by His indignation.
(9) Smoke went up from His nostrils,
From His mouth came devouring fire;
Live coals blazed forth from Him.
Live embers were kindled at it.
(10) He bent the sky and came down,
Thick cloud beneath His feet;
(11) He mounted a cherub and flew;
He was seen on the wings of the wind.
(12) He made pavilions of darkness about Him,
Dripping clouds, huge thunder-heads;
(13) In the brilliance before Him
Blazed fiery coals.

(14) The Lord thundered forth from heaven,
The Most High sent forth his voice;
(15) He let loose bolts and scattered them,
Lightning, put them to rout.
(16) The bed of the seas was exposed,
The foundations of the world were laid bare
By the mighty roaring of the Lord,
At the blast of the breath of his nostrils.

(17) He reached down from on high, He took me,
Drew me out of the mighty waters;
(18) He rescued me from my enemy so strong,
From foes too mighty for me.
(19) They attacked me on my day of calamity,
But the Lord was my stay;
(20) He brought me, out to freedom,
He rescued me because he was pleased with me.
(21) The Lord rewarded me according to my merit,
He required the cleanness of my hands.

(22) For I have kept the ways of the Lord,
And not been guilty before my God.
(23) I am mindful of all His rules
And have not departed from His laws;

(24) I have been blameless before Him,
And have guarded myself against sinning –
(25) And the Lord has requited my merit,
According to my purity in His sight.
(26) With the loyal You deal loyally;
With the blameless hero, blamelessly
(27) With the pure You act in purity,
And with the perverse You are wily.
(28) To the humble folk You give victory,
And You look with scorn on the haughty.

(29) You, O Lord, are my lamp,
The Lord lights up my darkness;
(30) With my God I can rush a barrier,
With my God I can scale a wall.

(31) The way of God is perfect,
The word of the Lord pure.
He is a shield to all who take refuge in Him.

(32) Yea, who is a god except the Lord,
Who is a rock except God –
(33) The God, my mighty stronghold,
Who kept my path secure;
(34) Who made my legs like a deer's,
And set me firm on the heights;
(35) Who trained my hands for battle,
So that my arms can bend a bow of bronze!

(36) You have granted me the shield of your protection
And Your providence has made me great.
(37) You have let me stride on freely,
And my feet have not slipped.
(38) I pursued my enemies and wiped them out,
I did not turn back till I destroyed them.
(39) I destroyed them, I struck them down;
They rose no more, they lay at my feet.
(40) You have girt me with strength for battle,
Brought low my foes before me,
(41) Made my enemies turn tail before me,
My foes – and I wiped them out.
(42) They looked, there was none to deliver,
To the Lord, but He answered them not.
(43) I pounded them like the dust of the earth,
Stamped, crushed them like the dirt of the streets.
(44) You have rescued me from the strife of peoples,
Kept me to be a ruler of nations;
Peoples I knew not must serve me.
(45) Aliens have cringed before me.
Paid me homage at the mere report of me.
(46) Aliens have lost courage
And come trembling out of their fastnesses.

(47) The Lord lives! Blessed is my rock!
Exalted be God, the rock

Who gives me victory;
(48) The God who has vindicated me
And made peoples subject to me,
(49) Rescued me from my enemies.
Raised me clear of my foes,
Saved me from lawless men!

(50) For this I sing Your praise among the nations
And hymn Your name;
(51) Tower of victory to His king,
Who deals graciously with His anointed,
With David and his offspring evermore.

Israel Stela
Cairo Museum 34025 (Verso)[48]

(1)[49] Year 5, 3rd month of summer, day 3,
under the Majesty of Horus: Mighty Bull, Rejoicing in Maat;
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*;
the Son of Re: *Merneptah, Content with Maat*, strong bull,
magnified by the power, exalted by the strength of Horus;
strong bull who smites the Nine Bows,
whose name is given to eternity forever.

Report of his (2) victories in all lands,
to let all lands together know,
to let the glory of his deeds be seen:
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt: *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*;
the Son of Re: *Merneptah, Content with Maat*.

Bull, lord of strength who slays his foes,
splendid on the field of valor when his attack is made,
Sunlight (3) which dispelled the cloud that was over Egypt,
letting Egypt see the rays of the sun disk;
Who removed the mountain of copper from the people's neck
that he might give breath to the imprisoned folk;
Who let Memphis[50] exult over its foes,
letting Tatenen triumph over his opponents;
Opener of Memphis' gates that were barred,
who allowed (4) the temples to receive their goods;
the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*,
the Son of Re: *Merneptah, Content with Maat*;

The Sole One who steadied the hearts of hundreds of thousands;
breath entered their nostrils at the sight of him,
Who destroyed the land of the Tjemeh in his lifetime,
cast abiding terror in the heart of the (5) Meshwesh.

[48] The following translation makes use of Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 73-78; Hornung, "Die Israelstele des Merenptah"; and the versification of Fecht, "Die Israelstele, Gestalt und Aussage." The hieroglyphic text appears in K*RI* IV, 12-19, using both the cited Cairo Stela and the report from the walls of the Karnak temple which is somewhat damaged.

[49] The numbers in the parenthesis represent the hieroglyphic lines on the stele.

[50] The favored residence of Merneptah.

He turned back the Libyans who trod Egypt,[51]
great is dread of Egypt in their hearts.

Their leading troops were left behind,
Their legs made no stand except to flee,
Their archers abandoned their bows,
The hearts of their runners grew weak (6) as they sped,
They loosened their waterskins, cast them down,
Their packs were untied, thrown away.

The vile chief, the Libyan foe,
Fled in the deep of night alone,
No plume on his head, his feet unshod,
(7) His wives were carried off from his presence,
His food supplies were snatched away,
He has no drinking water to sustain him.
The gaze of his brothers was fierce to slay him,
His officers fought among each other,
Their tents were fired, burnt to ashes,
All his goods were food for the (8) (Egyptian) troops.

When he reached his country he was in mourning;
Those left in his land were loath to receive him.
"A chief, ill-fated, evil-plumed,"
All said of him, those of his town.
"He is in the power of the gods, the lords of Memphis,"
The (9) Lord of Egypt has made his name accursed;
Merey is the abomination of Memphis,
So son after son of his kin forever.
Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun will be after his children,
Merneptah, Content with Maat is given him as fate.
He has become a proverbial saying for Libya;
(10) Generation says to generation of his victories:
"It was never done to us since the time of Re";
So says every old man speaking to his son.

Woe to Libyans, they have ceased to live
In the good manner of roaming the field;
In a single (11) day their stride was halted,
In a single year were the Tjehenu burned!

Seth[52] turned his back upon their chief,
By his word their villages were ruined;
There's no work of carrying [loads]

[51] This line begins the body of the poem which praises Merneptah as victor over the Libyans and shows that the Egyptian king attained his victory because of his favor with the gods and his gracious acts towards the gods.

[52] In the 19th Dynasty perceived as the god of foreigners. His turning from the Libyans is very serious.

these days,
Hiding is useful; it's safe in the cave.

The great Lord of Egypt, might (12) and strength are his,
Who will combat, knowing how he strides?
A witless fool is he who takes him on,
He knows no tomorrow who attacks his border!

"As for Egypt," since (the time of) the gods, they say,
"She is the only daughter of Pre;
His son is he who (13) sits on the throne of Shu;
None who attacks her people will succeed.
The eye of every god is after her despoiler,
She will make an end of all her foes,"
So say they who gaze toward their stars,
And know all their spells by looking to the winds.

(14) A great wonder has occurred for Egypt,
Her attacker was placed captive <in> her hand,
Through the counsels of the godly king,
Who prevailed against his foes before Pre,
Merey who stealthily did evil
To all the gods who are in Memphis.
He was contended (15) with in Heliopolis;
The Ennead found him guilty of his crimes.
Said the Lord-of-All, "Give the sword to my son,
The right-hearted, kind, gracious *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*,
Who cared for Memphis, who avenged Heliopolis,
(16) Who opened the quarters that were barred,
He has freed the many shut up in all districts,
He has given the offerings to the temples,
He has let incense be brought to the gods,
He has let the nobles retain their possessions,
He has let the humble frequent their towns."

Then spoke the Lords of Heliopolis (17) on behalf of their son,
Merneptah, Content with Maat:
"Grant him a lifetime like that of Re,
To avenge those injured by any land;
Egypt has been assigned him as portion,
He owns it forever to protect its people."

Lo, when one dwells in the time of the mighty,
The breath of life (18) comes readily.
The brave bestows wealth on the just,
The cheat cannot retain his plunder;
What a man has of ill-gotten wealth
Falls to others, not his children.

This (too) shall be said:

"Merey (19) the vile enemy, the Libyan foe
Had come to attack the walls of Ta-tenen,[53]
Whose lord had made his son arise in his place,
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*,
Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*."

Then said Ptah concerning the vile Libyan foe:
"His crimes (20) are all gathered upon his head.
Give him into the hand of *Merneptah, Content with Maat*,
He shall make him spew what he gorged like a crocodile.
Lo, the swift will catch the swift,
The Lord who knows his strength will snare him;
It is Amun who curbs him with his hand,
He will deliver him to his *ka* (21) in Southern Heliopolis,
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*,
Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*."

Great joy has arisen in Egypt,
Shouts go up from Egypt's towns;
They relate the Libyan victories
of *Merneptah, Content with Maat*:
"How beloved (22) is he, the victorious ruler!
How exalted is he, the King among the gods!
How splendid is he, the Lord of command!
O how sweet it is to sit and babble!
One walks free-striding on the road,
For there is no fear in people's hearts;
(23) Fortresses are left to themselves,
Wells are open for the messengers' use.
Bastioned ramparts are becalmed,
Sunlight only wakes the watchmen;
Medjai are stretched out asleep,
Nau (24) and Tekten are in the fields they love.
The cattle of the field are left to roam,
No herdsmen cross the river's flood;
There's no calling out at night:
'Wait, I come,' in a stranger's voice.
One comes and goes (25) with song,
People do not lament and mourn;
Towns are settled once again,
He who tends his crop will eat it.
Re has turned around to Egypt,
The Son is ordained as (26) her protector,
The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*,
Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*."

The princes are prostrate saying: "Shalom!"[54]
Not one of the Nine Bows lifts his head:
Tjehenu is vanquished,
Khatti at peace,
Canaan is captive with all woe.
(27) Ashkelon is conquered,
Gezer seized,

[53] Here Ta-tenen refers to the city of Memphis.

[54] This and the following lines comprise about two and a half lines in the hieroglyphic in this twenty-eight line piece!

Yanoam made nonexistent;
Israel is wasted, bare of seed,
Kharu is become a widow for (28) Egypt.
All lands have unified themselves in peace/
All who roamed have been subdued
By the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *Ba-en-Re-mer-Amun*,
Son of Re, *Merneptah, Content with Maat*,
Given life like Re every day.[55]

Abbreviations

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[55] Many discussions may be found of these last two lines of the stela, the historicity of which have been questioned in the past, though a campaign by Merneptah is generally accepted today. For example see Yurco, "Merenptah's Canaanite Campaign and Israel's Origins" and references there along with Hasel, "Merenptah's Inscriptions and Reliefs and the Origin of Israel"; Ahlström and Edelman, "Merneptah's Israel"; Rainey, "Israel in Merenptah's Inscription and Reliefs"; Niccacci, "La Stèle d'Israël."

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One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward: The Relations between Amenhotep III, King of Egypt and Tushratta, King of Mitanni[1]

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[*] In Memory of Prof. Anson F. Rainey, who passed away on 19.2.2011.

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to review the relationships between Egypt and the Kingdom of Mitanni (also known as Naharin in Egyptian sources) during the reign of Amenhotep III, King of Egypt (*c.* 1390-1352 BCE), and Tushratta, King of Mitanni. It is commonly accepted that they were peaceful during the reign of Amenhotep III. However, reading texts carefully, deterioration in relations and even a short period of animosity between them can be observed, though relations soon improved. In this article I shall forward the evidence and suggest a reason for this animosity.

Sources

The sources for studying the relations between Egypt and Mitanni during the reign of Amenhotep III are numerous and of various genres: The Amarna Letters,[2] Hittite vassal treaties,[3] Hittite royal historiographic texts,[4] Plague Prayers,[5] and Royal Egyptian texts engraved on the walls of the Luxor Temple.[6]

Historical Background

A. Struggle for Dominion of Northern Syria

During the middle of the 16th century BCE the Theban 17th Dynasty dislodged the Hyksos rulers and regained control over the whole of Egypt. After conquering Canaan, the Egyptian army marched northward and reached the Euphrates. During this period the Kingdom of Mitanni, which was on the ascent, expanded its borders into northern Syria as well. Both kingdoms were on the verge of collision.

Mitanni is first mentioned in the inscription of Amenemhat, the court astronomer during the reigns of Amenhotep I and Thutmose I. Although the context is broken, it seems that one of these kings warred

[1] I would like to thank Prof. Itamar Singer, Prof. Jared Miller and Dr. Amir Gilan for their useful comments. All errors are, however, my responsibility.

[2] Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 41-100; Kühne, *Die Chronologie der internationalen Korrespondenz*, 17-48.

[3] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 26-58.

[4] Deeds of Suppiluliuma; Miller, "The Rebellion of Hatti's Syrian Vassals."

[5] Singer, *Hittite Prayers*, 49-69.

[6] *Urk*. IV, 1658, 1693, 1696.

against Mitanni *c.* 1500 BCE.[7] The inscriptions of Ahmose, son of Ebana and Ahmose Pennekheb, who served under Thutmose I in the Egyptian army, mention their bravery in battle against Naharin. These private inscriptions add to the royal inscriptions of Thutmose III, who reports setting a stele next to his grandfather's stele, Thutmose I, on the bank of the Euphrates.[8]

No mention is made of military activity against Mitanni by Thutmose III during the early years of his sole reign.[9] The battle at Megiddo against the Canaanite coalition, headed by the king of Qidshu (on the Orontes), the dominant military force in the Southern Levant, may have had a Hurrian leadership.[10]

During Thutmose III's eighth campaign in his 33rd regnal year he crossed the Euphrates and attacked the heartland of Mitanni, though its king escaped. Two years later, in his 35th regnal year, Thutmose attacked the Mitannian heartland for the second time. Despite these attacks on Mitanni proper, its control over northern Syria remained, continuing to subjugate Haleb, Nuhasse, and other states in northern Syria.

Thutmose III's son, Amenhotep II did not succeed in changing the power balance in northern Syria. The description of the capture of the Mitannian courier in the Sharon Valley led scholars to claim that Mitannian hostile activity against Egypt penetrated into Egyptian held territory in Canaan. However, Singer raised the possibility that the valley mentioned should rather be identified as being the Siryon Valley, close to the Hermon (Snir) mountain.[11] Furthermore, Singer proposed that the cylinder seal carried by the Mitannian courier was containing a request for peace with the Egyptian king and not an attempt to incite rebellion in the Egyptian held territories of Canaan. It is possible that following this request a peace treaty was concluded between Mitanni and Egypt.[12] However, this fragile peace did not last long, for in less than twenty years there is hostility between the two powers.

In the days of Thutmose IV (*c.* 1401-1391 BCE) the two king-

[7] Brunner, "Mitanni in einem ägyptischen Text."

[8] *Urk.* IV 697.5.

[9] It is not clear if the stele found at Tell el 'Oreimeh should be dated to the reign of Thutmose III or Amenhotep II. See: Albright, "A Royal Stele of the New Empire"; der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amunhotep II*, 90-92.

[10] Epstein, "That Wretched Enemy of Kadesh"; Tunip may have been under Hurrian sovereignty as well. See: Redford, "Mitanni," 149.

[11] Singer, "'Emeq Šārōn' or 'Emeq Śiryōn'?"

[12] Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective on Mittani," 77.

doms resumed hostility.[13] A topographical list on the chariot of Thutmose IV mentions Naharin (Mitanni) at the head of the enemy list.[14] In the tomb of Nebamun, chief of police during the reign of Thutmose IV, mention is made of *ḥ3ḳ* (booty) from Naharin, which included the sons of the chief of Naharin.[15] Since his title of Chief of police is not yet mentioned in the caption, this event preceded Thutmose IV's sixth regnal year.[16] From Amarna Letters no. 51, 59 and 85 we learn that Manahpirya visited Sidon, was received as king in Tunip, and even enthroned the king of Nuhasse. The last two places were in the realm of Mitanni. It is, however, impossible to decide based on the name in Akkadian, whether Thutmose III (*Mn-ḫpr-Rʿ*) or Thutmose IV (*Mn-ḫpr.w-Rʿ*) is meant in these letters.

B. Reconciliation and Peace

Despite the hostilities mentioned in the early years of Thutmose IV, soon relations improved dramatically. Thutmose IV married the daughter of Artatama I, King of Mitanni.[17] In tombs of nobles from his reign further evidence can be found to support the change in relations between the two powers. Mitannian emissaries beg for the breath of life from Pharaoh, carrying their tribute on their backs.[18]

These peaceful relations remained intact during the reign of Amenhotep III as well, who married Giluhepa, daughter of King

[13] Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period," 258. Bryan assumes that Thutmose IV did not clash directly with Mitanni, but only acted in his realm.

[14] Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 340. *Cf.* the recent article by A. Nemirovsky, who suggests a historical scenario for including Sangar (Babylon) in the list of Egypt's enemies, "Babylonian Presence on the Borders of Egyptian Possessions."

[15] Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV,* 339; Hallmann, *Tributszenen,* 80. The mention on a Karnak statue of "the booty that His Majesty took in despicable […]n on his first victorious campaign" should not necessarily be attributed to Naharin. See: Kitchen, "Amunhotep III and Mesopotamia," 254, but see: Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV,* 337-38, and the various spellings of Naharin on topographic lists in the New Kingdom: Stockfisch, "Mittani in den Fremdvölkerlisten," 265-68.

[16] Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 339; Bryan, "The 18th Dynasty before the Amarna Period," 257; Hallmann, *Tributszenen*, 80.

[17] El-Amarna 29 (Henceforth EA), ll. 16-20. See: Kitchen, "Amunhotep III and Mesopotamia," 252.

[18] TT 91 (Name not preserved): Mitannian rulers bring their children and request the breath of life from Pharaoh. Hallmann, *Tributszenen*, 83. Some identify the king in the scene with Thutmose IV, while others identify him as Amenhotep III. In the cartouche only the signs mn and Rʿ survive. The remaining tombs from the reign of Thutmose IV which show Syrians submitting to Pharaoh (TT 63, 78, 90) actually do not identify the people as Mitannian, or it can not be determined with certainty if the king is Thutmose IV or Amenhotep III.

Shutarna and sister of Tushratta. Their wedding ceremony occurred in Amenhotep's 10th regnal year and was commemorated on a special edition of "royal commemorative scarabs," of which the most recent exemplar was dug up at the excavations of Beth-Shean.[19] This marriage was mentioned in the opening formulae of several Amarna Letters to Amenhotep III, as well as in letters to Akhenaten mentioning former good relations between the kingdoms, and in the dowry sent by Tushratta, the Mitannian king to his Egyptian counterpart.[20]

Following the death of Giluhepa, Amenhotep III and Tushratta negotiated furthering good relations between them, cemented by the marriage of Taduhepa, the young daughter of Tushratta, to the elder Amenhotep III. Several letters from this dossier survived, among them letters dealing with the forthcoming arrival of the bride, negotiations about the dowry (EA 24 col. III), two lists with the contents of the dowry (EA 22, 25) and letters dating after the arrival of the princess in Egypt regarding the sending of a statue of the goddess Shaushka (Ishtar) of Nineveh (EA 23) to Amenhotep III and his new bride, Taduhepa. The latter is dated to regnal year 36, fourth month of *pr.t*, day 1,[21] and the princess most probably arrived in Egypt before the autumn of year 36.

The peaceful relations reached their zenith with the writing of EA 24. Quotations from a peace treaty are inserted in Col. III l.108 – Col. IV l.15. These quotations resemble the clauses in the peace treaty between Ramesses II and Hattusilli III, king of Hatti several decades later. Scholars are not in agreement if these quotations are a draft of a future peace proposal or a verbatim quote from an already existing alliance pact between Mitanni and Egypt. It seems to me that with the arrival of the Mitannian princess for marriage (EA 24, ll. 58-65) the peace treaty was surely finalized and intact.

Following the death of Amenhotep III, Tushratta wrote to Tiye, widow of Amenhotep III to act on his behalf and brief the young heir, Amenhotep IV, regarding past economic agreements and diplomatic relations (EA 26). In an unusual breach of protocol he revealed that he mourned on hearing about the death of his royal brother and ally (ll. 55-60).

At this point I shall clarify a chronological issue which relates to chronological and historical reconstruction of the events and relations between the two kingdoms. Several

[19] Goldwasser, "A 'Kirgipa' Commemorative Scarab."

[20] EA 29, ll. 16-27; EA 17, ll. 1-10; EA 24, ll. 35-64.

[21] For the accession date, see: Hornung, *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology,* 204; von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 197.

scholars maintain that a coregency existed between Amenhotep III and his son Amenhotep IV, which could have lasted as long as twelve years. I do not accept this coregency[22] and reconstruct the flow of events accordingly.

A letter addressed to Amenhotep IV (EA 27) is dated to the first days of the second regnal year of Amenhotep IV, while he was still in Thebes. From this letter it becomes clear that Amenhotep IV and Tushratta have already corresponded prior to the arrival of this letter in Thebes. Taking into account that the period for the delivery of a royal letter between Washukanni, capital of Mitanni,[23] and Thebes took about three months (EA 27, l. 56 ff.), it can be assumed that contact between the two capitals at this stage of their relations was very efficient. Echoes of these good relations can be found in EA 29, where those between Tushratta and Akhenaten had already deteriorated, since the Mitannian envoys were detained for some four years (EA 29, l. 118).

From the above sources, it can be deduced that the relations between the two powers were allegedly good during the reign of Amenhotep III and in the early years of Amenhotep IV. Even the unsatisfactory exclamations by Tushratta regarding the size and quality of presents sent from Egypt, or the detention of the Mitannian royal emissaries did not digress from the diplomatic norm found in the epistolary of the empires with Egypt.

C. Hostility Between Egypt and Mitanni During the Reign of Amenhotep III

Several sources hint, however, that the relationship between Mitanni and Egypt was not idyllic during Amenhotep III's entire reign. In several Amarna Letters from Rib-Haddi, ruler of Byblos, to the King of Egypt, the following reports of contact between Abdi-Ashirta, ruler of Amurru, Rib-Haddi's bitter foe, with the King of Mitanni can be found.[24]

EA 60, ll. 11-19, one of the early letters of Abdi-Ashirta, ruler of Amurru, to Amenhotep III (after the conquest of Ṣumur):[25]

> "Take auxiliary forces to guard the land[s] of the king." Indeed, all the [k]ing[s] under the king of the Hurri forces seek to wrest the

[22] Although dealing with this issue exceeds the scope of this paper, I refer the reader to select bibliography about the postulated Coregency: Redford, *History and Chronology*, 88-169; Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, 123-69; Johnson, "Amunhotep III and Amarna."

[23] Possibly Tell el-Fakhariyeh. See: Goren, *et al.*, *Inscribed in Clay*, 44.

[24] Abdi-ashirta was captured before the end of the reign of Amenhotep III. See: Moran, "The Death of 'Abdi-Aširta'," 98; Moran, *Amarna Letters*, xxxv-xxxvi, n. 27.

[25] Goren, *et al.*, "The expansion of the kingdom of Amurru," 5, 8.

> lands from my […] and …[…o]f the king, [my] lord, [but I g]uard th[em].

EA 85, ll. 51-63 from Rib-Haddi:

> Moreover, the king of <Mi>ttana came out as far as Ṣumur, and though wanting to mar[ch] as far as Gubla, he returned to [h]is own land, as there wa[s no] water for him to drink.

EA 86, ll. 5-12 from Rib-Haddi:

> Listen to m[e, the war] is severe, and so come w[ith] archers that you may take the land of Amurru. Day and ni[ght it has cri]ed to you [and they sa]y (that) what is taken f[rom t]hem to Mittan[a] is very much.

EA 75, ll. 35-48 from Rib-Haddi:

> May the King be informed that the king of Hatti has seized all the countries [that were vassals of(?)] the king of Mitta<ni>. Behold, [he] is king of Nah<ri>ma [and] the land of the great kings, [and] Abdi-Ashirta, [the servant] and dog, is ta[king the land of the king].[26]

EA 101, ll. 3-10 from Rib-Haddi:

> [No]w, the ships of the army are not to enter the land of Amurru, for they have killed Abdi-Ashirta, since they had no wool and he had no garments of Lapis lazuli or MAR stone color to give as tribute to the land of Mittana.[27]

EA 90, l. 20 from Rib-Haddi:

> Moreover, that [do]g is i[n] Mittana, but his eye is on [Gu]bla.[28]

EA 95 ll. 27-33 from Rib-Haddi:

> The King of Mitta[ni] visited the land of Amurru itself, and he said: "How great is this land! Your land is so extensive."[29]

It should be noted that the relevant passages in the letters are in broken context and most are emended. Still, it is possible to deduce from

[26] Moran, *Amarna Letters*, 145-46; For a critical reading of these passages, See: Izre'el and Singer, *The General's Letter from Ugarit,* 124-27. Singer does not allow for any association with the Hittites, as Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs,* 20. See also the criticism by Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 347-50. While I will not attempt to emend missing parts of this letter, it may be wise to consult additional texts, such as the treaty between Suppiluliuma and Shattiwaza. It is clear that Tushratta and Suppiluliuma were combating for control over the areas to the west of the Euphrates, specifically mentioning that Suppiluliuma, early in his reign, annexed the Lebanon Mountains and had to re-conquer the same areas all over again. See: Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 42.

[27] Liverani, "How to Kill Abdi-Ashirta: EA 101, Once Again," 391-92; *cf.* Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 365-66.

[28] For dating EA 90 a bit later then EA 75 (after the conquest of Batruna), see: Altman, "EA 59: 27-29 and the Efforts of Mukiš, Nuhašše and Niya," 6, n. 18; Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 361. For some reason, Altman does not regard Abdi-Ashirta's overture to Mitanni as an act of subordination, because nowhere does Rib-Haddi directly accuse him of defection from the Egyptian sphere.

[29] Liverani, "How to Kill Abdi-Ashirta: EA 101, Once Again," 391; *cf.* Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 363-66.

them that Rib-Haddi accused Abdi-Ashirta of co-operating with Mitanni, and the king of Mitanni is accused of acting against Egyptian interests.[30]

According to Rib-Haddi's reports, the king of Mitanni arrived at Amurru, took a lot of booty, subjugated it and planned to conquer Byblos as well. Rib-Haddi even accuses Abdi-Ashirta of presenting himself in front of the king in Mitanni, clearly to switch allegiance.

Based on the above mentioned letters one can not claim that the Mitannian campaign to Amurru was conducted with Egyptian (tacit?) consent or as part of a mutual defense pact as some scholars maintain. Altman has already shown that this opinion is based on a faulty reading of EA 17 and 24. The claim that Amurru, in part or completely, belonged to Mitanni during the entire period and that the purpose of the campaign against Amurru was to quell a rebellion, is rather untenable.

Singer commented on the information about Mitanni mentioned in the Amarna Letters and noted that:

> I have raised doubts about the credibility of this unique report (EA 85), which, if true, would carry far-reaching consequences for the international scene. From all we know, Mitanni and Egypt maintained their political alliance, especially when confronted with the growing Hittite menace… Rib-Addi's sensational report on the Mitannian king's campaign or 'visit' to Ṣumur is, to my mind, a figment of Rib-Addi's notorious polemics….[31]

The entering of a king of Mitanni to the territories of Amurru, Egyptian vassal territory, without his consent, whether invited by the ruler of Amurru or as a military action against Amurru, the arrival of the ruler of Amurru, an Egyptian vassal, at Mitanni, and the bringing of tribute to him are all to be regarded as *casus belli*.

In the vassal treaty between Tudḫalya IV, king of Hatti and Shaushgamuwa, king of Amurru, some 150 years after the described events, it is said in the historical introduction that Amurru was subjugated to the land of Hurri. The name of the king was not preserved but is universally emended as [Aziru].[32] This piece of information

[30] Singer, "A Concise History of Amurru," 146.

[31] Singer, "A Concise History of Amurru," 146-47; Singer, "The 'Land of Amurru' and 'The Lands of Amurru'."

[32] " [Earlier] the land of Amurru had not been defeated by the force of arms of Hatti. When [PN came] to the (great)-grandfather of My Majesty, [Suppiluliuma], in Hatti the lands of Amurru were still [hostile]. They [were] subjects of the King of Hurri. Aziru accordingly/ in the same manner/ nevertheless gave him (to Suppiluliuma? / to the Hurrian king?) his allegiance, although he did not defeat him

contradicts all that is known from earlier vassal treaties between Hatti and Amurru, where it is clearly stated that Aziru defected from Egypt and subjugated himself to Hatti of his own free will. Since the Amurrite king, emended in the relevant paragraph, has been taken by scholars to be Aziru, this contradicting note has been understood as unreliable. Singer claimed that the term "Amurru lands" referred not to the Kingdom of Amurru *per se*, but to the whole of Syria.[33]

Altman, as well, does not accept the subjugation of Amurru to the King of Mitanni. In his article, he first dealt with the theory advanced by several scholars that the Mitannian raid to Amurru was a response to the submission of Abdi-Ashirta to Suppiluliuma I, who attacked Syria. This claim was based on EA 75, and especially on the restoration in l. 42. Did Abdi-Ashirta take for himself (ji-il-ku from the verb leqû), or did he go (from the verb alāku) with the Hittite king? Altman, as Singer before him,[34] arrives at the conclusion that there is no evidence of Abdi-Ashirta's defection to the Hittites, however, he cannot eliminate this possibility completely.[35] Altman then treats the theory that the Mitannian raid was conducted with Egyptian consent based on the interpretations of EA 17 and 24. Altman shows that these interpretations are wrong, and that there is no Egyptian agreement in these letters to Mitannian involvement in Amurru.[36] Altman continues, dealing with the theory that Amurru, in part or as a whole, was subjugated to Mitanni as Kestermont and Murnane have suggested.[37] The main evidence to support this theory was the treaty between Tudḫalya IV, King of Hatti, and Shaushgamuwa, King of Amurru, where it is indicated that Amurru was subjugated to Hatti in the days of Aziru. In light of the fact that all earlier treaties between Hatti and Amurru claim that Aziru left Egypt's sovereignty of his own free will, Altman treats this information as a tendentious and blatant lie.[38] Its purpose is to

by force of arms." For the different renderings of the text, see: Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 104; Izre'el and Singer, *The General's Letter*, 152-53; Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 352-53.

[33] Izre'el and Singer, *The General's Letter*, 152-53; Singer, "The 'Land of Amurru' and 'The Lands of Amurru'." *cf.* Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 356-58.

[34] Izre'el and Singer, *The General's Letter*, 125.

[35] Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 347-50.

[36] Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 350-51; contra Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, 13 and n. 5; Waterhouse, *Syria in the Amarna Age*, 25 ff.; and Schulman, "Hittites, Helmets and Amarna," 59 with n. 84.

[37] Kestermont, "La société international Mitannienne"; Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, 140-42; cf. Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of Amurru," 351-55.

[38] Altman, "The Mittanian Raid of

prevent the King of Amurru from claiming that Amurru's annexation is illegal. Amurru should be permitted to return to Egypt's sovereignty. According to Altman, by swearing an oath and accepting the content of a treaty with a false historical assertion – that Amurru did not belong to Egypt but to a fictitious Mitannian overlord, which was not a political actor anymore – the Ammurite hypothetical future claim to switch overlords back again to Egypt would be neutralized.[39]

However, one should not only notice that the subjugation to the Hurrite king in the Shaushgamuwa treaty *preceded* the subjugation of Aziru, but one may also emend the name of the king as Abdi-Ashirta in the lacuna.[40] There was no reason to treat this early Hittite subjugation at length since it did not last more then several months or at the most a very short period of years, no longer then the Mitannian counteroffensive, the Hittite loss of Amurru to Mitanni and the re-subjugation of Aziru to Hatti. Mention of Amurru's subjugation in the days of Abdi-Ashirta by the Hittite kings, in proximity to the events, would give rise to recollections that Hatti lost control over the area including Amurru, which it did not regain effectively until the days of Aziru. As the earliest subjugation was mentioned in the days of Tudḫalya IV, immediately followed by the subjugation of Aziru, events which led to a temporal loss of Hittite control were blurred, while the impression of continuity remained.

To the Amarna Letters, which are admittedly emended in crucial sentences, and the late Hittite treaty, one can now add a further piece of evidence. Recently, the Hittitologist J. Miller joined and collated several fragments of a historiographical text. He assigned the text to Mursilli II, son and second

Amurru," 355.

[39] *Cf.* earlier attempts by Altman and Zaccagnini to explain these discrepancies: Altman, "On Some Assertions in the 'Historical Prologue'"; Zaccagnini, "A Note on Hittite International Relations." It seems to me that in his attempts to explain Mitanni's activity in Amurru according to the different, sometimes seemingly contradicting sources, Altman got entangled in a theoretical conception which basically claims that the Hittites could force their subjects to sign any deceitful treaty in their advantage, knowingly lying to themselves, to their subjects, and to their gods, and on judgment day, their ordeal would be won in front of the gods.

[40] The broken space at the beginning of KUB 23.1, l. 15 allows about four to seven signs. The customary restoration of A-zi-ra-as(=ma) takes 4 to 5 signs. Abdi-Ashirta (not attested in Hittite texts) would either be written phonetically Ab-di-A-si-ir-ta (=ma) or with the initial Sumerogram ÌR for Abdi, *i.e.* some six to seven signs. I thank Profs. Itamar Singer and Jared Miller for this information.

For the writing of Abdi-Ashirta's name in the EA corpus, see: Hess, *Amarna Personal Names,* 7-9.

heir of Suppiluliuma. The content of the text dealt with hostility between Hatti and Egypt at the end of the reign of an Egyptian king whose name was not preserved. He should most probably be identified with Akhenaten.[41] In the text, the Hittite king claims that Arma'a (most probably to be identified with the Egyptian general Horemheb) attacked Amurru. After a Hittite victory over the Egyptians, the Hittite king wrote an angry letter to the king of Egypt, accusing him of attacking Amurru, now a Hittite subordinate, without a reason, since it was conquered by the Hittites, not from Egypt, but from the king of the Hurri land.

Vs.[?] (II)

> (1') ... [But when] (2')[PN] sat [upon the throne of] ki[ngship], (4') Armaya began t[hereup]on to *take [ve]ngeance upon* A[murru], (6')and he sent troops and chariots to the Land of [Amurru] to attack. (8')But when I heard (about it), (9')I came to the rescue, (10')and the troops and chariots of the Land of Egypt fled before me, (12')and I [pu]rsued him. Thereafter wrote right back to him (saying): 'You are *taking [ve]ngeance upon* the Land of Amurru. (16')But was it I who took the [Land] of Amurru away from you, (18')or was it rather my father who took it away from you? (20') It was the King of the Land of Ḫanigalbat who took the Land of Amurru away from the King of the Land of Egypt, (22')and then my father defeated the King of the Land of Amurru, (23')and [he took the Land] of A[murru away] from the King of the Ḫurri Land.[42]

All the above sources, from various places (Byblos, Amurru, Hatti), from different periods (stretching over *c.* 150 years), and from literary derivations suggest a Mitannian blow to Egyptian interests in Amurru during the reign of Amenhotep III. Do we have Egyptian evidence for hostility between Egypt and Mitanni in the days of Amenhotep III? The Egyptologist B. Bryan[43] has noted that in all inscriptions of Amenhotep III, Mitanni is not mentioned in a negative tone,[44] except for one specific

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[41] Miller, "The Rebellion of Hatti's Syrian Vassals."

[42] Miller, "The Rebellion of Hatti's Syrian Vassals," 536. The same has been claimed in the Deeds of Suppiluliuma regarding Kinza (Qidshu).For the same reasoning *cf.* Judges 11: 12-27.

[43] Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective," 83.

[44] But *cf.* the painting in the tomb of Anen, brother-in-law of Amenhotep III (TT 120), where Amenhotep III sits on his throne and tramples in the conventional manner on the enemies of Egypt, including a Mitannian. See: Hartwig, *Tomb Painting*, fig. 35. See also the mentioning of Mitanni/ Naharin in topographical lists in the days of Amenhotep III. See: Stockfisch, "Mittani in den Fremdvölkerlisten," 263, 266. Note that several of the instances of the mention of Naharin are totally reconstructed. The exact meaning of names of places mentioned in topographic lists exceeds the scope of this paper. See: Kitchen, "Egyptian New Kingdom Topo-

period of time, without dating this period more precisely, in the last decade of his reign:

> A Luxor Temple open-court architrave, west facing, west side, states: "He made a valiant name in every foreign country, his war shouts having circulated through Naharin, when he placed fear in their hearts, as their bellies split open" (Urk. IV 1693, 17-19). Nearby, on a hypostyle hall architrave deriving from the same period late in Amenhotep III's rule, the king was described as "he whose mace smote Naharin" (Urk. IV 1696) … A nearly contemporary stela from the king's funerary temple has a similar pungency. There the king "He who tramples Naharin with his valiant strong arm" (i.e., army). Beneath the scene appears a further label: "Naharin, Kush, defeated, Upper Retenu, and Lower Retenu are under the feet of this good god like Re forever" (Urk. IV 1658, CG 34026).[45]

"The last decade of the reign of Amenhotep III" for dating these inscriptions (see above) can be narrowed down a bit, since the mentioned building activities in the above quote belong to the second stage of the building. They can be dated to the end of the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign, and were decorated for the *Sed*-festival in his 30th regnal year and not later.[46]

D. What Triggered the Renewed Hostility Between Egypt and Mitanni?

According to Bryan, re-demonizing Mitanni came during negotiations between Amenhotep III and Tushratta over the marriage of the latter's daughter, Taduhepa, while Amenhotep III also anticipated the downfall of Mitanni.[47]

However, according to Tushratta's letters to Amenhotep regarding these negotiations, it was Amenhotep III who approached Tushratta in order to marry his daughter, while the latter accepted the proposal immediately without hesitation.[48] In less than a year, the bride-to-be arrived in Egypt. No animosity can be detected in these letters, only expressions of love, which is quite unusual compared to other diplomatic correspondences between the Great Empires of the day.[49] The negotiations regarding the marriage were concluded by regnal year 36, 4th month of winter. They were quick and in good spirit,[50] and seem to date at least five years after the hostile attitude which was noted above by Bryan. Her second claim,

graphical lists."

[45] Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective," 83.

[46] Bryan and Kozloff, *Egypt's Dazzling Sun*, 82-90; definitely not in the fourth decade of Amenhotep III's reign. See: Johnson, "Monuments and Monumental Art," 67.

[47] Bryan, "The Egyptian Perspective," 83.

[48] EA 29, ll. 16-27.

[49] Gestoso Singer, "The Term 'Love' in the Amarna Letters."

[50] Kitchen, *Suppiluliuma and the Amarna Pharaohs*, 24, n. 2.

that Amenhotep III had anticipated Mitanni's downfall, is based on retrospective knowledge. There is no hint in Amenhotep III's 34th year that Hatti would subdue Mitanni. This event would at least have been fourteen years in future.

A hint of motivation concerning Egypt's hostility towards Mitanni can be found in EA 17, ll. 11-29, which was written a short time after Tushratta's consolidation of sole power on the throne of Mitanni.

> When I sat on the throne of my father, I was young. And Udhi/Pirhi had done an unseemly thing to my country, and had slain his lord. For this reason he would not permit me friendship with anyone who loved me. I, in turn, was not remiss about the unseemly things that he had done in my land, and I slew the slayers of Arta[sh]-umara, my brother, and everyone belonging to them. Since you were friendly with my father, I have accordingly written and told you so my brother might hear of these things and rejoice. My father loved you, and you in turn loved my father. In keeping with this love, my father [g]ave you my sister. [And w]ho els[e] stood with my father [a]s you did?

From this letter it is clear that Tushratta's elder brother, Artashumara, the inheritor of the throne of his father, was murdered, and that Tushratta inherited the throne when he was still young. The head of the conspirators, a certain Uthi/Pirhi prevented Tushratta from keeping good ties with Mitanni's former allies, including Egypt, and thus the relationship was affected. The conspirators were finally captured and executed, enabling a renewal of former relations and strengthening them through a mutual defense pact (EA 24). We are not able to identify the head conspirator Uthi/Pirhi,[51] but he seems to have become a kind of *de facto* regent. It seems that it was he who cut the friendly relationships with Egypt. Following Tushratta's defeat of Hatti (EA 17, 11. 30-39), which is possibly connected chronologically and thematically with the ousting of Pirhi/Uthi, Tushratta renewed his friendly relations with Egypt.

According to the treaty of Suppiluliuma with Shattiwaza, the former made a treaty with Artatama II, king of the Hurri lands.[52] Nothing is known about Artatama II's origins, length of reign, or size of the territory under his control – if he controlled any at all.[53] However, his choice of name suggests that he wanted to be affiliated with the late Artatama I, and to be legitimized in this manner.[54] The fact that Artata-

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[51] Freu, *Histoire du Mitanni*, 89, states the following: "Nous ne savons rien du personage, sans doute le 'grand vizier'." See also: Wilhelm, *The Hurrians,* 30-31.

[52] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 42.

[53] Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 31; Freu, *Histoire du Mitanni,* 89-90.

[54] Wilhelm, *The Hurrians*, 31. Freu, *His-*

ma's son, Shuttarna III, still had pretentions to the throne, strengthens the case that this rival dynasty was an offshoot of the royal family. It was even legitimately acknowledged by Suppiluliuma. If this is the case, one wonders if EA 43, a Hittite state letter, which was restored by Na'aman,[55] may actually refer to the Hittite backing of Artatama II, the eldest (?) (remaining) son of Artatama I (after the murder of Artashumara, but he may not have necessarily been a first rank prince). Clearly, the restoration of the murdered king as Tushratta, which Na'aman surmised, seems to be wrong, because Tushratta did not have friendly relations with Suppiluliuma as is stated in the letter.[56]

The Shattiwaza treaty goes on to describe the events after the Artatama affair as follows:

> …*at that time* Tushratta, King of Mitanni, called for the attention from the Great King, King of Hatti (Suppiluliuma).[57]

Immediately after the mention of Tushratta in the Shattiwaza treaty, the Hittite king went to fight west of the Euphrates and annexed the Lebanon Mountain.

In EA 17, as well as in the Shattiwaza treaty, an opponent of Tushratta is mentioned in proximity, and in the Shattiwaza treaty even as an ally of Hatti during the early years of Tushratta. Uthi/Pirhi is neutralized early in Tushratta's reign. In the same manner, Artatama II is not mentioned anymore in the Shattiwaza treaty until his heir is mentioned again after Tushratta's murder regarding a legal case (probably about the legitimacy of Shattiwaza's claim to the throne). It is tempting to equate the two antagonists of Tushratta,[58] although, of course these two episodes could pertain to two totally different episodes in the early years of Tushratta.

E. Did the Renewing of the Alliance Between Egypt and Mitanni Include the Return of the Occupied Territories to Egypt, its Former Owner?

From later letters in the Amarna dossier, it becomes clear that Abdi-Ashirta was captured, possibly in Ṣumur by the Egyptian royal forc-

toire du Mitanni, 89-90.

[55] Artzi, "EA 43, An (Almost) Forgotten Amarna Letter"; Na'aman, "Tushratta's Murder."

[56] For the royal succession in Hatti, see: Beckman, "Inheritance and Royal succession," esp. 18-19, 24-25. Note that Suppiluliuma exercised choice in choosing his heir.

[57] Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 42.

[58] For a Mitannian king changing (or using in parallel?) his birth name into a throne name, see the colophon of CTH 52. Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 54. I thank Prof. Miller for bringing my attention to this fact.

es.[59] Irqata[60] and Ṣumur returned to Egyptian hegemony.[61] However, later they were recaptured by Aziru and the rest of Abdi-Ashirta's sons.[62] There is no clue in these letters of any presence or Mitannian sovereignty in Amurru. Furthermore, there is no information that Abdi-Ashirta was re-subjugated to Egypt. It seems that Amenhotep III planned to conduct a campaign to Amurru (EA 102) and may have even conducted one (EA 116) and subjugated Amurru for a short while.

Into this entanglement of questions one may add an additional factor: namely, Hatti's policy in northern Syria and its activity against Mitanni's satellite states in the days of Amenhotep III. According to the inscriptions of Suppiluliuma (Shattiwaza Treaty) and Mursilli II (The Deeds of Suppiluliuma), Suppiluliuma marched to the Niblani (Lebanon) Mountain and annexed it. In the Shattiwaza Treaty it is further claimed that Shutatara, King of Kinza (Qidshu) and his son Aitagama attacked the Hittite king who captured them and subjugated them and reinstalled Aitagama as king over Kinza. In the Deeds of Suppiluliuma, the king of Hatti accuses the king of Egypt that he attacked the King of Kinza, even though it was part of the Hittite realm after it was conquered by the Hittites from Mitanni. This claim is similar to the one made above by the Hittite king concerning Amurru.[63] It is my intention to deal with the numerous evidences for the struggle over power between Egypt, Mitanni and Hatti in the days of Akhenaton and the frequent changes of overlords in the kingdoms of Qatna, Nuhasse, Qidshu and Amurru in a different paper.

In Sum

Reviewing the relationships between Egypt and the Kingdom of Mitanni, I come to the following conclusion: There exists much evidence for hostility between Mitanni and Egypt during the end of the third decade of Amenhotep III's reign over Egypt.

The initiator of these hostilities of Mitanni against Egypt's satellites may be Uthi/Pirhi, an otherwise unknown regent of Tushratta, while the latter was still a minor. However, one can raise the possibility that the anti-Egyptian policy was conducted by Artatama II, a

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59 EA 108, ll. 28-33; EA 117, ll. 21-28; EA 132, ll. 12-18; EA 138, ll. 28-34; EA 362, ll. 18-20. See: Moran, "The Death of 'Abdi-Aširta'"; Liverani, "How to Kill Abdi-Ashirta: EA 101, Once Again"; Liverani, "An Additional Suggestion on EA 101"; *cf.* Altman, "The Fate of Abdi-Ashirta."

60 EA 100.

61 EA 106, ll. 8-13; Aziru and his brothers in Damascus: EA 107, ll. 29-36.

62 Irqata: EA 109.

63 Miller, "The Rebellion of Hatti's Syrian Vassals," 536-37.

usurper, and founder of a counter dynasty (?), backed by Hittite support. It is also possible that the military actions against the northern Egyptian sphere of influence were conducted by Artatama II. After Artatama's disappearance from the historical scene, Tushratta resumed the relationship with Egypt. If one accepts my above suggestion that Artatama was the royal name taken by Uthi/Pirhi, one can better understand the easily renewed relationships with Egypt on the one hand and the involvement of Hatti in the struggle over north Syria on the other.[64]

After subduing his opponents from within, and defeating the Hittites in battle, Tushratta was secure on the throne of Mitanni and could appeal to Amenhotep III in order to renew friendly relations, as can be gleaned from EA 17. The relations between Mitanni and Egypt were ratified by a mutual defense pact and resumed by a diplomatic marriage.

Suppiluliuma intervened and retaliated against Mitannian interests in Syria, and conducted at least two campaigns (according to the Shattiwaza treaty). It is not clear what the status of vassal states such as Amurru was during each campaign, but it seems that the Mitannian king returned to his homeland, the Hittite king conquered the vassal states and allegedly subdued them, and the Egyptian king did not immediately increase his control over them.

A final chronological note – The starting date and length of the reign of Suppiluliuma, king of Hatti, is being debated among scholars. It seems that his reign started not long before year 30 of Amenhotep III (before *c.* 1360 BCE) and, according to the study of J. Miller, ended not long after the reign of Akhenaten (after *c.* 1338 BCE) some 25 years later.

[64] This identification of the two individuals must remain at the moment, however, purely hypothetical.

Abbreviations

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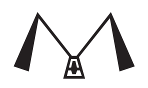
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The Egyptian Garrison Town at Beth-Shean

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Abstract

The paper summarizes the results of the excavations of the New Kingdom Egyptian garrison town at Tel Beth-Shean. The stratigraphy, architecture, monuments, and various finds are analyzed, and questions related to social structure and interrelation with the local population are raised. Main results of a variety of studies published in three volumes of the final excavation reports of the Hebrew University expedition are integrated in the survey. The paper emphasizes different aspects of the Egyptian presence in the three main periods: the 18th, 19th and 20th Dynasties, and raises questions relating to the strength of the Egyptian empire during the 20th Dynasty.

Introduction

Tel Beth-Shean is the most extensively excavated Egyptian New Kingdom garrison town in Canaan. It was excavated on a large scale by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania (henceforth UME) from 1921-1933,[1] and by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1983 and from 1989-1996.[2] In the following paper, I summarize the evidence related to Beth-Shean during the New Kingdom based on written sources and the results of the archaeological research.

The UME excavations uncovered large parts of the summit of the mound and revealed many

[1] Directed consequently by Clarence Fisher, Alan Rowe and Gerald FitzGerald. The main publications relating to the New Kingdom are Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan* and *The Four Canaanite Temples of Beth-shan*; James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*; Oren, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth-Shean*; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*. For summary see Mazar "Beth Shean" (1993).

[2] Yigael Yadin and Shulamit Geva conducted a short season in 1983, published in Yadin and Geva, *Investigations at Beth Shean*; large scale excavations were directed by the author on behalf of the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and sponsored by the Israel Ministry of Tourism through the Israel Antiquities Authority and the Beth-Shean Tourist Development Authority. Processing of the finds and publication were sponsored by Mrs. Gita Hoffmann through Mr. Stewart Silbert (Perth, Australia), Mr. John Camp, Shelby White and Leon Levy Publications Fund, and the Philip and Muriel Berman Center for Biblical Archaeology in the Hebrew University. Among the many staff members and researchers who contributed to this research Robert Mullins and Nava Panitz-Cohen were pivotal in both excavation and publication. See Mazar, "Beth Shean in the Iron Age"; "Beth Shean" (1993; 2008); "Four Thousand Years of History"; "Beth Shean in the Second Millennium B.C.E." For final reports see *TBS I, TBS II, TBS III*. Much of the material in the present paper is based on the author's introduction (Chapter 1) in *TBS III*.



Fig. 1 Aerial view of Tel Beth-Shean, looking north-west (All illustrations in this paper were submitted by the Tel Beth-Shean Expedition, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem).

important architectural remains and artifacts, including the largest collection of Egyptian monuments and inscriptions ever found in the Asiatic provinces of Egypt, and established the stratigraphic framework of the site, though the dates of the Late Bronze and Iron I strata were revised by later reviewers. Our excavations have refined UME's results and added important new information and evaluations. The archaeological data is essential for understanding the nature and history of the garrison town and the mutual relations between the Egyptians and the local Canaanite population during a time span of more than 300 years. Table 1 shows the stratigraphic sequence relating to the Late Bronze and Iron I periods in both UME and our excavations. Attention should be paid to the different nomenclature for the strata used by these two expeditions: "Level" used by the UME expedition and "Stratum" by our excavation.

The Site

Tel Beth-Shean (Tel el-Hosn) is one of the most prominent *tells* in northern Israel (Fig. 1). Located at the junction between the Jordan Valley and the eastern end of the Jezreel Valley, the site enjoyed the best conditions for the development of human settlement: abundant water, fertile land, a strategic position and close proximity to major routes. Yet Beth-Shean is

not a large site: it is approximately 4 hectares in area, though its exact area is unknown since part of the southern and perhaps western edge of the mound were probably cut away during the Roman Period.[3] Our excavations (Fig. 2) have shown that during most of the second millennium BCE the settled area was limited to the summit of the mound, which is no larger than 1.5-2 hectares, accommodating a community of *c.* 500 persons.[4] In contrast, the main Canaanite city in the Beth-Shean valley was located at Tel Rehov/Rehob (Tell es-Sarem), 5 km south of Beth-Shean, which was 10 hectares in size.[5] In addition, almost 40 mounds, most of them very small, are scattered throughout the Beth-Shean valley.

Egyptian Textual Sources

The earliest reference to Beth-Shean may appear in the Egyptian Execration Texts, although the reading is disputed.[6] The earliest New Kingdom reference is in the topographic list of Thutmose III at Karnak (No. 110: *bt šʾir*).[7] In the Amarna Letters of the 14th century Beth-Shean appears only once as *bit ša-a-ni* in a letter to the Pharaoh (probably to Akhenaten) from Abdi-Heba, ruler of Jerusalem (EA 289). After mentioning Gath Carmel as the city of Tagi, Abdi-Heba notes that the men of Gath comprise the garrison in Beth-Shean, *i.e.*, his enemies make up the Pharaoh's protective forces to the north. Further on, Abdi-Heba connects Tagi to the sons of Lab'ayu, the ruler of Shechem, in the context of stirring up hostility against the Pharaoh.[8] A petrographic study of the Amarna tablets has revealed that while most of Abdi-Heba's letters were made of local hill-country clay, one of them (EA 285) was made of Jordan Valley clay, perhaps produced and written by a scribe at Beth-Shean itself.[9] An Akkadian inscription on a clay cylinder found at the foot of the mound is a message to Lab'aya from Tagi. Unike other letters written by Tagi, the clay of this cylinder

[3] Arubas, *TBS I*, 48-60.

[4] Population estimate is based on the coefficient of population per hectare used (for a recent discussion see Schloen, *House of the Father*, 169-83). James and McGovern (*The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 238) calculated the town's area as being 5 hectares, yet they included the northern part of the mound, which in our view remained unsettled during the 2nd millennium BCE. Their population estimate was based on a coefficient of 400 person per ha., which is probably twice too much.

[5] Mazar, "Rehov, Tel-."

[6] See *TBS II*, 1-2 for references.

[7] Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 27-44; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 156-66, esp. 163; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 156-60.

[8] Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, 332-33; *ANET*, 489; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 170-76.

[9] Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman, *Inscribed in Clay*, 267-69.

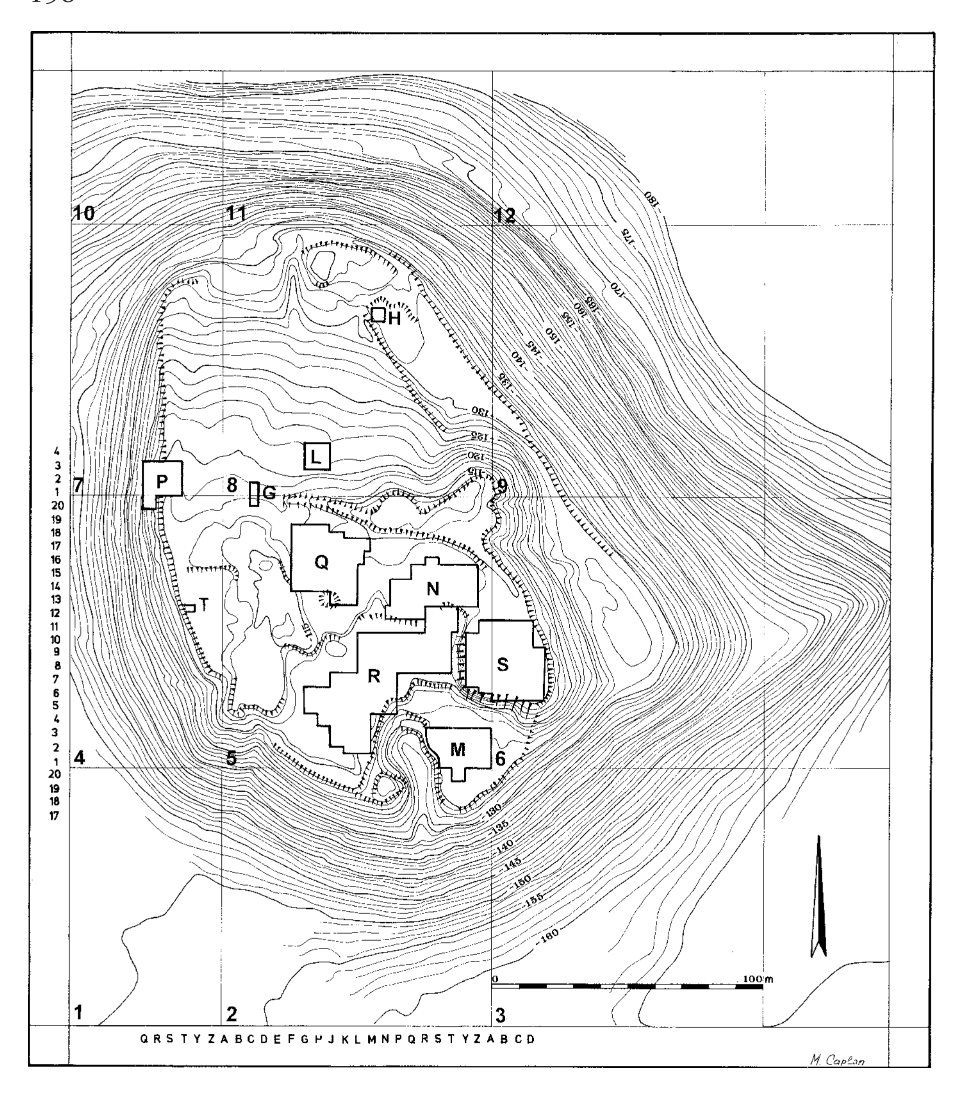


Fig. 2 Topographic map of Tel Beth-Shean with Hebrew University excavation areas.

is typical to the central hill country, and this raised various suggestions as to the circumstances of the writing.[10] The discovery of this cylinder at Beth-Shean supports the status of the town as an Egyptian stronghold during the Amarna Period.

The excavations at Beth-Shean yielded a unique collection of 19th and 20th Dynasty monuments and inscriptions, unparalleled anywhere in the Levant.[11] 19th Dynasty Egyp-

[10] Horowitz, "An Inscribed Clay Cylinder"; for the petrographic study and interpretation see Goren, Finkelstein and Na'aman, *Inscribed in Clay*, 259; *TBS II*, 3.

[11] Lists of these items and discussions were published by Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*; James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*, 5-8; Ward, "Appendix

tian sources include six mentions of Beth-Shean in topographic lists of Sety I (twice at Karnak, twice at Qurneh, and once at Abydos).[12] The monumental stele of Sety I found at Beth-Shean mentions the city as being seiged by the rulers of Hammath and Pehal, while Rehob remained loyal to the pharaoh; as a counter-attack, Sety sends three army units to Hammath, Beth-Shean and Yenoam.[13] Ramesses II mentions the city once in a list from Karnak, and Papyrus Anastasi I mentions it aside Rehob, in relation to the crossing of the Jordan River.[14] In the Egyptian texts the name is always written as *Beth-ŝā'l* with no *n* at the end. After 300 years, Beth-Shean is mentioned again in Shoshenq I's list at Karnak, aside Rehob.[15]

Beth-Shean: The 18th Dynasty

Some authors suggested that Beth-Shean was established as an Egyptian garrison town only at the beginning of the 19th Dynasty.[16] Yet in my view, based on the limited textual data mentioned above and the archaeological data, Beth-Shean became an Egyptian base already during the 18th Dynasty. It must be confessed, though, that the evidence for an Egyptian presence during the 18th Dynasty is much weaker compared to the rich evidence related to the 19th and 20th Dynasties.[17] No Egyptian monuments of the 18th Dynasty are known from Beth-Shean. The Level IX sanctuary excavated by UME was denoted by Rowe "Mekal temple," however the "Mekal stele," one of the most interesting Egyptian-style monuments from Beth-Shean, was reassigned by James and McGovern to Level VIII or VII of the 19th Dynasty. In fact there are no Egyptian elements in the Level IX sanctuary, and the finds are mainly of local Canaanite types. The main evidence for an Egyptian presence at Level IX is a small amount of Egyptian pottery ("flower pots," bowls, and tall bottles), locally produced at Beth-Shean, as will be the practice on much larger scale during the 19th-20th Dynasties. This may indicate that Beth-Shean was occupied by an Egyptian garrison

D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI"; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 249-50; and Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*, *passim*.

[12] Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 78-79 with references for earlier literature.

[13] Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 25-29, fig. 5 and pl. 41; *ANET*, 253; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 11-12; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*, 22-24 with previous literature.

[14] Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 19, 79; *ANET*, 477.

[15] Ahituv, *Canaanite Toponyms*, 79.

[16] Thus James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 235.

[17] For further discussion see *TBS II*, 1-3, 18.

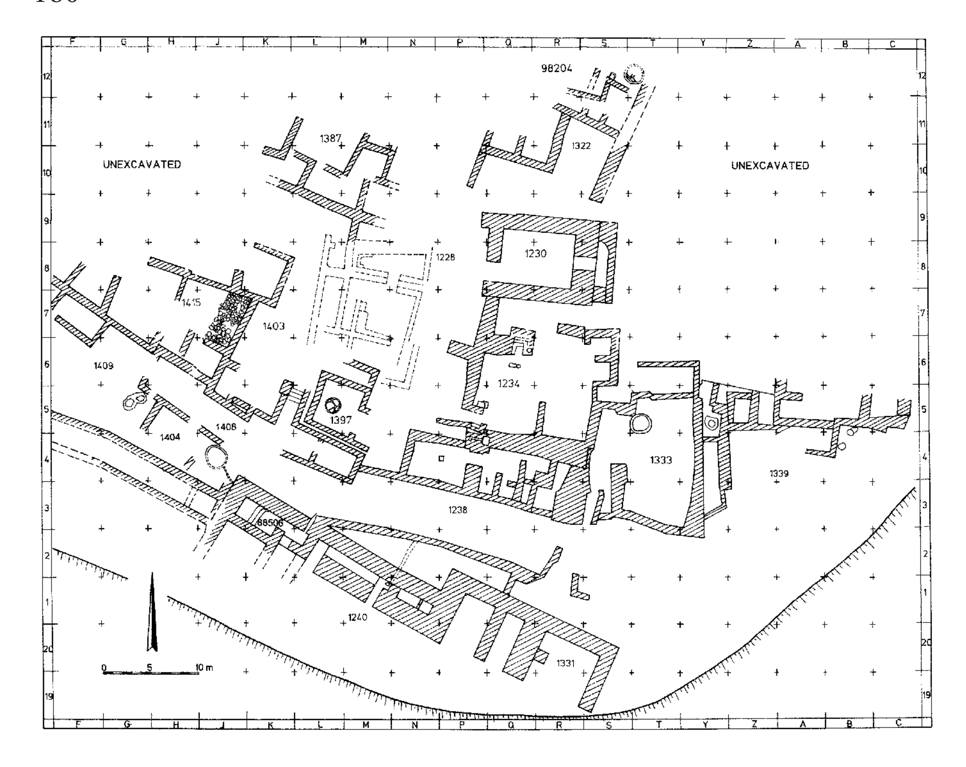


Fig. 3 Plan of Level IX, the sanctuary area and a large building south of it.

already in the 15th and 14th centuries BCE.[18] We have shown that Level IX (Fig. 3) was destroyed by a great fire during the mid-14th century BCE, towards the end of the Amarna Period, probably related to a crisis in the Egyptian holdings in Canaan during the end of the 18th Dynasty.[19]

[18] For other aspects of 18th Dynasty Beth-Shean see discussions in *TBS II*.

[19] According to James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 237 the end of Level IX was not caused by violent destruction and the transition to Level VII is described as "peaceful." This is contradicted by our finds in the only area of Level IX that we exposed where we found clear evidence for heavy destruction by fire (*TBS II*, 19, 189-96).

Beth-Shean: The 19th Dynasty

The transition from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty (from Level IX to Level VIII) marks a remarkable change in the town's layout: a new street system was designed, a new temple was constructed above the ruined sanctuary complex of Level IX and new public buildings and residential quarters were established. The new town (Level VIII) may be attributed to the time of Sety I, who erected two monumental stelae at the site.[20] This new town

[20] For the first Sety I stele (found in secondary use in front of the Level V Northern temple) see above; for the second (found out of context in a late level) see Rowe,

plan survived until the end of the Egyptian domination of Canaan in the second half of the 12th century BCE, though considerable changes were made in the transition from the 19th to the 20th Dynasty.

UME's Levels VIII and VII date to the time of the 19th Dynasty.[21] Level VIII is not very well known: its plan shows an early phase of a street and residential area, and several additional structures. Level VII (Fig. 4) included the temple, a residential area on both sides of a street to its east, two large structures on the west dubbed "Migdol" and "commandant house," a large circular silo to the west of the latter, and a few residences south-west of the temple.[22] The plan is coherent and the town appears to have been extensively built. A phase called "Late Level VII" is represented at only a few locations on the plan of Level VII and should not be regarded as an independent stratum, but rather as representing local changes in the architecture of Level VII, while other buildings in the city like the temple continued to be in use with no change.

The temple of Level VII (rebuilt in Level VI on a slightly different plan) is not typically Egyptian. It was compared to Amarna and Deir el-Medineh chapels, yet the latter are considered as being inspired from Canaanite traditions.[23] The use of blue color to paint the inner sanctum of the temple and Egyptian frieze stones found in the temple all point to its being inspired from Egyptian architecture, but the building seems to combine local traditions, similar to the temple in Area P at Lachish.[24] A variety of rich finds, including many scarabs, cylinder seals, pendants, jewelry, clay figurines and imported Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery were found in Level VII, in particular in the temple.

Ascribed to Level VII are a stele

The Topography and History of Beth-shan, 25-30; *ANET*, 255; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 236. Martin, *TBS III,* Chapter 6, follows Aston's claim that Level VIII should be dated to the time of turmoils in Egypt during the late 18th Dynasty, due to the small quantity of Egyptian forms in Level VIII as against the larger number in Level VII. Against this conclusion we may claim that UME's Level VIII is very little known: only a small quantity of pottery was published, mostly from insecure contexts. The foundation of Level VIII during the time of Sety I is more acceptable. See James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 236.

21 For a final report on these levels see James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*.

22 James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 1-68, 236-38, with plan p.2 and Map 1.

23 Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*, 294-301 with summary and earlier bibliography.

24 Mazar, "Temples of the Middle and Late Bronze Ages and the Iron Age," 173-77; Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, 215-81.

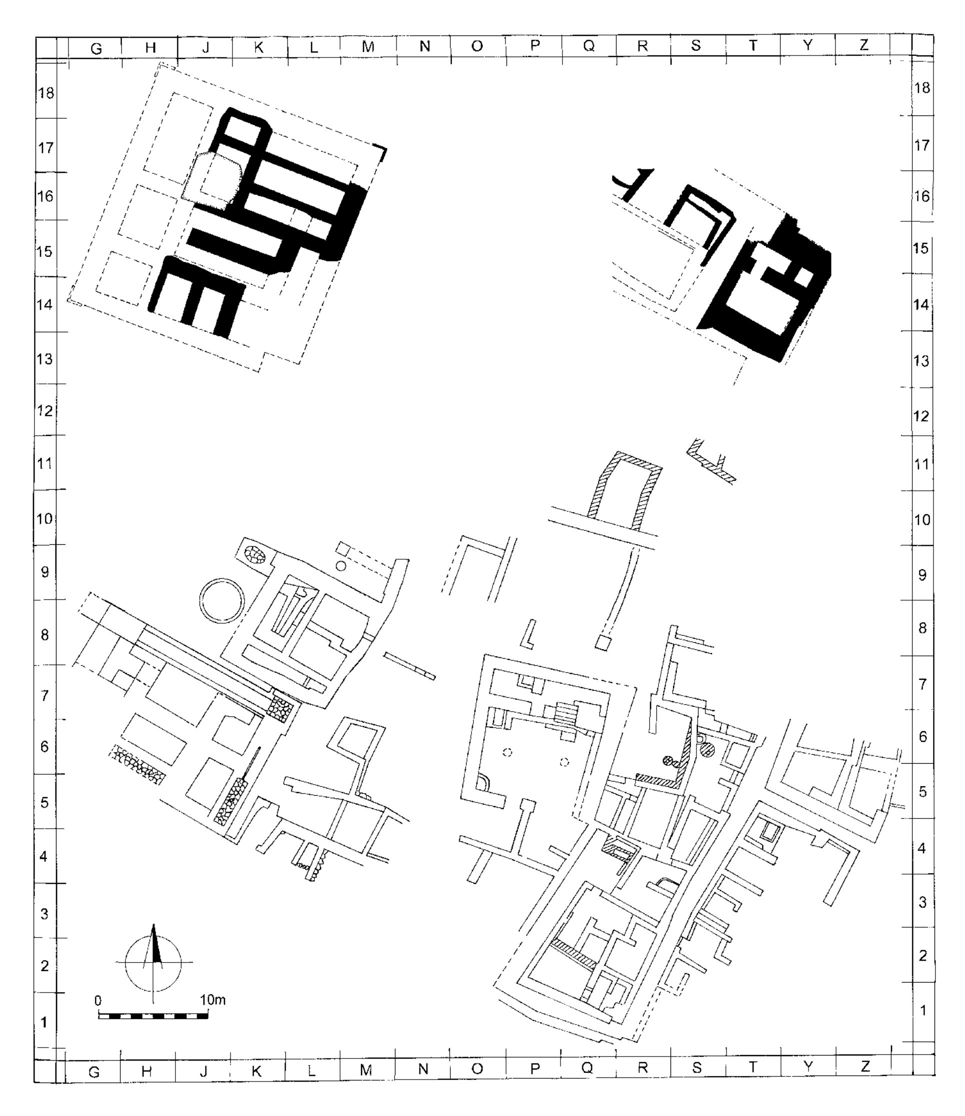


Fig. 4 Plan of UME Level VII at Tel Beth-Shean (13th century BCE) and contemporary buildings excavated by the Hebrew University expedition (in black).

of Ramesses II and a cylinder seal showing Ramesses II shooting an arrow at a target, yet both these finds were found in secondary use in Level V temples. Two private small stelae can be attributed to the 19th Dynasty: the "Mekal stele," a private limestone stele of Paremheb, son of the architect Amenemapt worshipping MKL/R (usually transcribed Mekal) "Lord of Beth-Shean."[25] The Egyptian official is

[25] Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 14-15, pl. 33; Ward, "Appendix D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI," 171; Thompson, *Mekal, the God of Bet Shean*; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*,

shown worshipping Mekal, a local Canaanite god who is shown as a Canaanite deity, seated and wearing horns and long gown. The second private stele, found in the Level VII temple, shows a worshipper in front of the Canaanite goddess Ashtarte, or perhaps Hathor.[26] Other Egyptian inscriptions include an hieratic ostracon interpreted by Wimmer as an execration text.[27]

Five faience plaques with royal names were found "near or north of the steps" leading to the inner raised room of the Level VII temple. Four of them were read as "Ramesses," and the fifth has the prenomen of Merneptah.[28] This latter plaque became fundamental in dating the temple and Level VII. Weinstein noted that "the double bolt-*s* appears on scarabs and plaques of later Ramesside kings" yet nevertheless he and others attributed the plaques to Ramesses II, based on the stratigraphy and context. Porter challenged this date, claiming that one of the plaques should be dated to the time of Ramesses IV, based on the only known parallels of the double bolt-*s* hieroglyph.[29] In addition, he doubted the reading Merneptah on one of the plaques, yet the present state of preservation of the plaque does not allow a new reading, and Rowe's identification is the only evidence that we have. Porter's suggestion would lead to a *terminus post quem* for the foundation of the Level VI temple during the time of Ramesses IV, and yet he claims that other parts of Level VI could have been constructed during the time of Ramesses III. This is very unlikely; the rich deposit of finds in Locus 1068 of the Level VII temple contained a large number of Mitannian cylinder seals and other artifacts which are no later than the 13th century BCE. It makes no sense to think that the

240, 249-59, No. 8. Rowe wrote that it was found in "Room 1330" of the "southern temple" of Level IX, but the excavation records attribute this stele to Room 1292 of Level VIII just above Room 1330 of Level IX (James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 249, No. 8A; see also *TBS II*, 36). The right lower corner of this stele was found in Level VII temple (James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 250, No. 8B). James and McGovern (*The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 240) attribute this stele to Level VII, claiming that it was found "in the temple precinct" of that level.

[26] Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 19-21, pl. 48:2; Ward, "Appendix D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI," 171; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 240, 250, No. 10.

[27] Wimmer, "Ein Ächtungstext aus Israel/Palästina"; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*, 45-46.

[28] Weinstein, "The Scarabs, Plaques, Seals and Rings," 221, fig. 165: 1-4, 6.

[29] Porter, "A Note on Ramesses IV and Mernephtah at Beth Shean." He refers to the plaque published in James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, fig. 165:4.

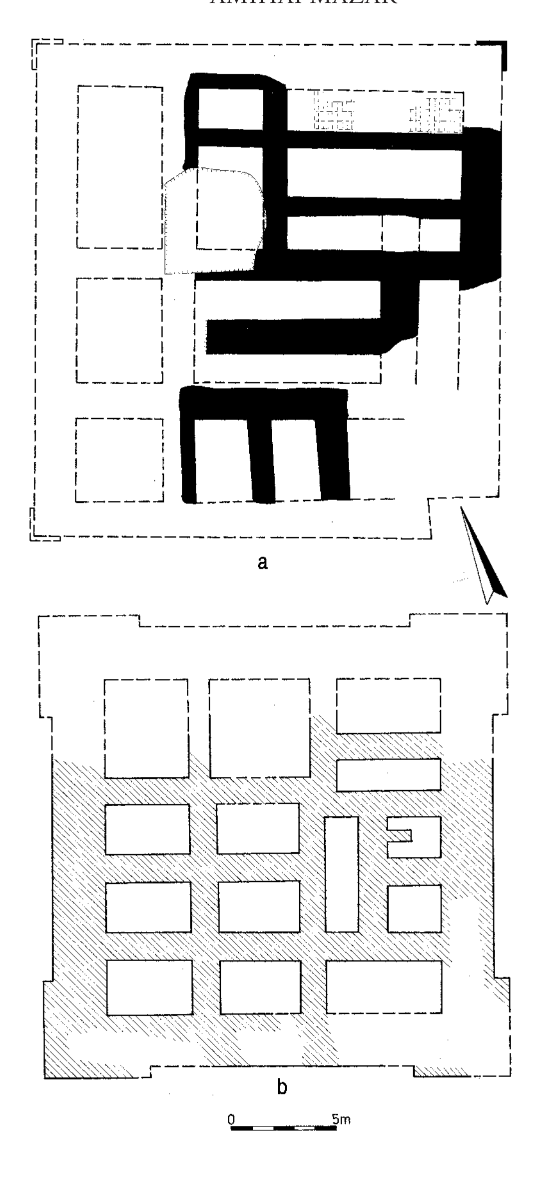


Fig. 5 Plan of the 19th Dynasty building in Stratum Q-2 (above) and the Egyptian citadel at Deir el-Balah (below).

Level VII temple continued to be in use until the time of Ramesses IV, close to the end of the Egyptian presence at Beth-Shean, while the rest of the city was rebuilt already during the time of Ramesses III. Perhaps the paleographic criterion used by Porter is insufficient.

Our excavations reached the 13th century in two excavation areas: Q and N. In Area Q, excavations below the Governor's Building (Building 1500) of Level VI



Fig. 6 View of Building NB, 13th century BCE.

revealed two earlier strata.[30] Stratum Q-3 (perhaps corresponding with UME Level VIII) was known only from a few probes. A public building measuring 20 m^2 of Stratum Q-2 was partially exposed (Fig. 5). It was constructed of mudbrick walls without stone foundations, in line with Egyptian architectural tradition. It was divided into rooms and corridors by a network of subsidiary brick walls, and several of its rooms had mudbrick floors, a technique well known from Egypt. The plan resembles the 19th Dynasty Egyptian fortress excavated at Deir el-Balah, south of Gaza. It appears that this building had a military/administrative function.

In Area N several structures and part of a street of Stratum N-4 are contemporary with UME Level VII.[31] Part of a massive mudbrick building (Building NB, Fig. 6) was exposed; its walls were 1-2.5m wide and the excavated part contained a large hall, two small chambers used for storing grain and a corner of an additional room. The building was probably much larger, extending to the north and east of the excavated area. This massive building recalls the so-called "Migdol" excavated in the southwestern part of Level VII. Both these buildings appear to be parts of large administrative buildings with storage facilities used

[30] *TBS I*, 61-172.

[31] For the final publication see *TBS III*, 35-48.

by the Egyptian administration at Beth-Shean. An imported tall-necked Egyptian jar found in this building can be dated to the end of the 19th or beginning of the 20th Dynasty. The local pottery is typical to the late 13th century BCE.

The western part of Area N was a residential area, where we excavated parts of several architectural units comprising spacious courtyards and rooms. In one of the rooms a group of five Ramesside scarabs of Egyptian origin was found, one of them with a cartouche of Ramesses II and a rare dedicatory inscription to the god Amun.[32] Among the other finds from this level was an Egyptian bronze razor.

The End of the 19th Dynasty at Beth-Shean

The nature of the end of this period and the transition to the 12th century city differs from one area to another. UME did not record any evidence for a violent destruction of their Level VII.[33] In Area Q, no evidence for violent destruction of Stratum Q-2 was found: the building of Stratum Q-2 was replaced by Building 1500 of Level VI (=our Stratum Q-1), the latter retained the outer outline but had a very different function, as will be explained below. Similarly, no evidence for violent destruction was found in the western and southern part of Area N, while the massive Building NB came to an end in a fire which left heaps of charred grain, smashed pottery vessels and other finds. Thus there is no evidence for a general devastation that brought an end to the 19th Dynasty city, but there is sufficient evidence for local fires and fast abandonment of buildings, at least in parts of the town. This may have been caused by turmoil and perhaps attack on the town resulting from the unstable situation in Egypt at the end of the 19th Dynasty and during the transition to the 20th Dynasty. Soon the town was rebuilt, retaining its former layout.

The Iron Age IA: The 20th Dynasty at Beth-Shean (=UME Level VI)[34]

Town Plan and Architecture

Level VI of the 20th Dynasty is well known due to wide exposure both by UME and our expeditions

[32] Brandl, *TBS III*, 637-43.

[33] James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 236, 247-48. It should be noted that none of the other violent destructions found by us (those of Level IX=our Stratum R-1a and of Level VI=our Stratum S-3a) are mentioned by UME.

[34] The term Iron IA used for the time of the 20th Dynasty follows the terminology used in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*. Other terms for the same period were recently suggested, see discussion in Mazar, "From 1200 to 850 B.C.E." and *TBS III*, 23-24.

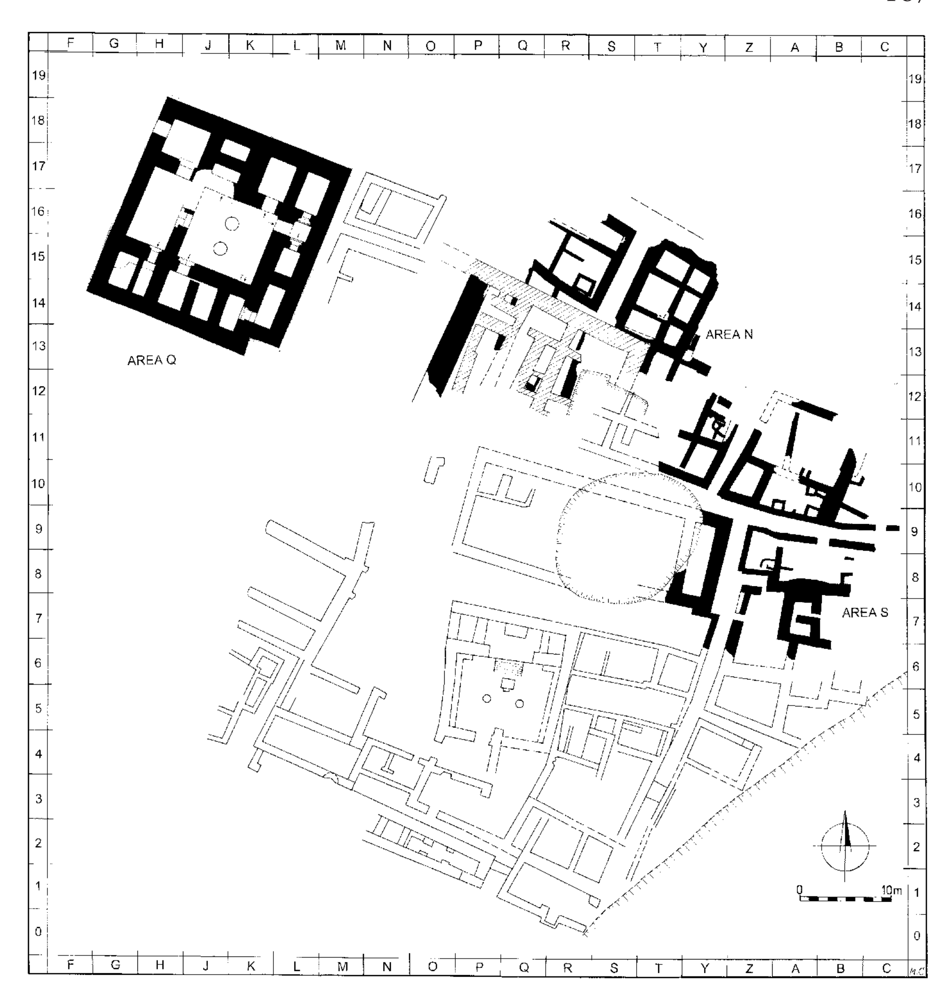


Fig. 7 Plan of UME Level VI (12th century BCE) and contemporary buildings excavated by the Hebrew University expedition (in black).

(Fig. 7).[35] The layout of the town was retained as is evidenced by the continuity of streets, the outline of buildings, the rebuilding of the temple and continuity in outline of many residential buildings. Yet substantial changes also occurred, such as the changes in the area west of the temple, where important buildings of Level VII went out of use and were replaced by large walled spaces, perhaps storage structures.

Building 1500, located in the northern part of the summit, was the largest and most imposing building of Level VI.[36] Our renewed excavation yielded a revised plan of the building and new analysis of its

[35] James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*, 4-22, 149-51; *TBS III*.

[36] James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*, 8-11; *TBS I*, 61-82.

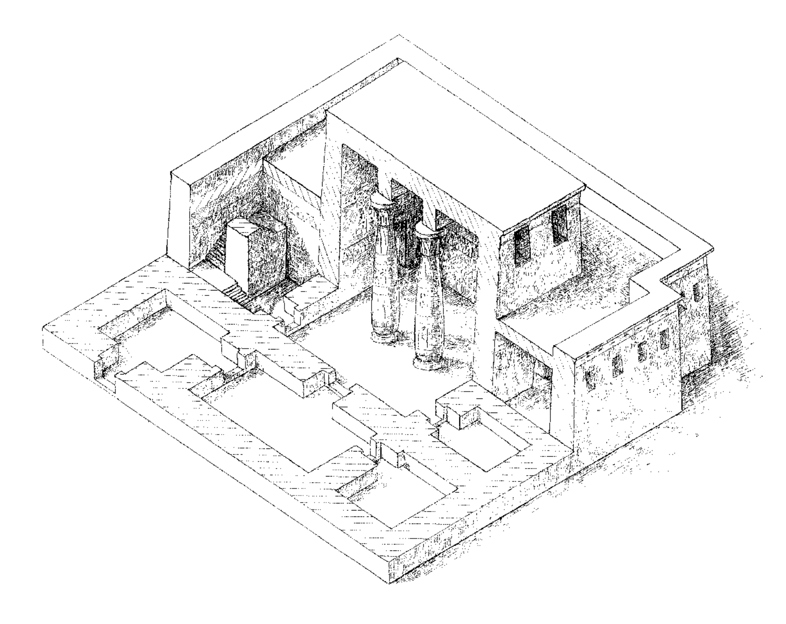


Fig. 8 Isometric view of Building 1500 (drawing: B. Arubas).

architecture (Fig. 8). Its plan, pillared central hall, inscribed stone door-jambs and T-shaped stone door-sills are all in typical Egyptian style. The building, with its massive basalt stone foundations, indicates a substantial change in comparison to the previous building that stood at the same place in Stratum Q-2, though the outer outline of the earlier structure was retained. The new building can be defined as a small palace, most probably the seat of the governors of Beth-Shean during the 20th Dynasty, Ramesses Weserkhepesh and perhaps also his father Thutmose. The building was designed to impress visitors and reflect Egyptian rule and power.

East of Building 1500, UME revealed another large building denoted "Building 1700," in which four T-shaped stone door-sills were found; two of them appeared to be *in situ*. In our excavations in Area N it was shown that the building is later than two phases of 20th Dynasty structures (Strata N3-b and B-3a) and thus the building either was added in the late 20th Dynasty or is later than the time of the Egyptian regime (and in that case the door-sills must be in a secondary context).

At the western part of Area S a massive rectangular room is all that was preserved from another large building which continued to the west, into a disturbed area north of the temple of Level VI. The architecture and elaborate finds from this room indicate that this must have been the residence of a high-ranking Egyptian official.

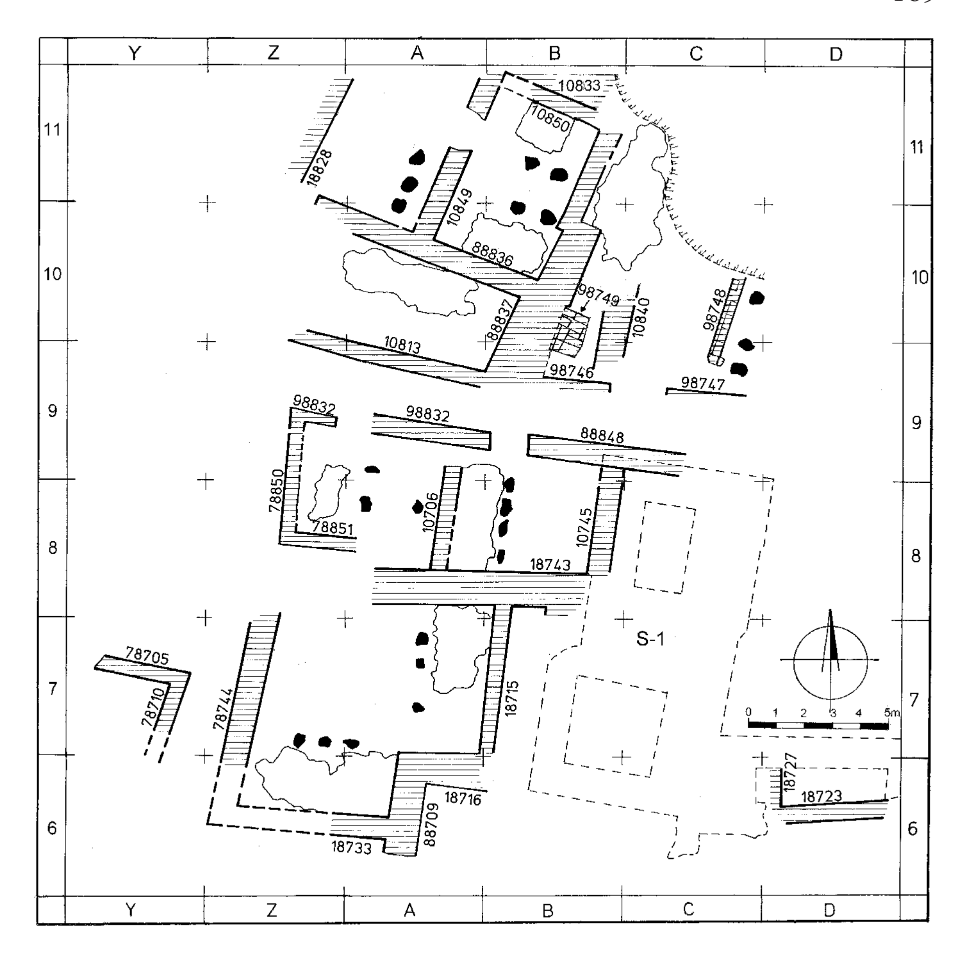


Fig. 9 Schematic plan of Stratum S-4 houses (12th century BCE).

In the residential areas excavated by us in Areas N and Q at least two architectural phases were attributed to the time of the 20th Dynasty (see Table 1). The houses contained courtyards and rooms in which various grinding, cooking, baking, and storage installations were found (Fig. 9). A special feature of Stratum S-4 is the rows of stone pillar bases for wooden posts which divided larger spaces, a feature that disappears in Stratum S-3 (Fig. 10). The simple houses cannot be defined as belonging to a certain "Egyptian" or "Canaanite" tradition: the combination of large spaces and smaller rooms next to them, and the use of roofed areas with the help of wooden columns on stone bases (only in our Stratum S-4) can be found in both Late Bronze Canaan as well as in Egypt, though examples of New Kingdom dwellings are few.[37] The

[37] For a house with a row of pillars from Medinet Habu see Bietak, "An Iron Age

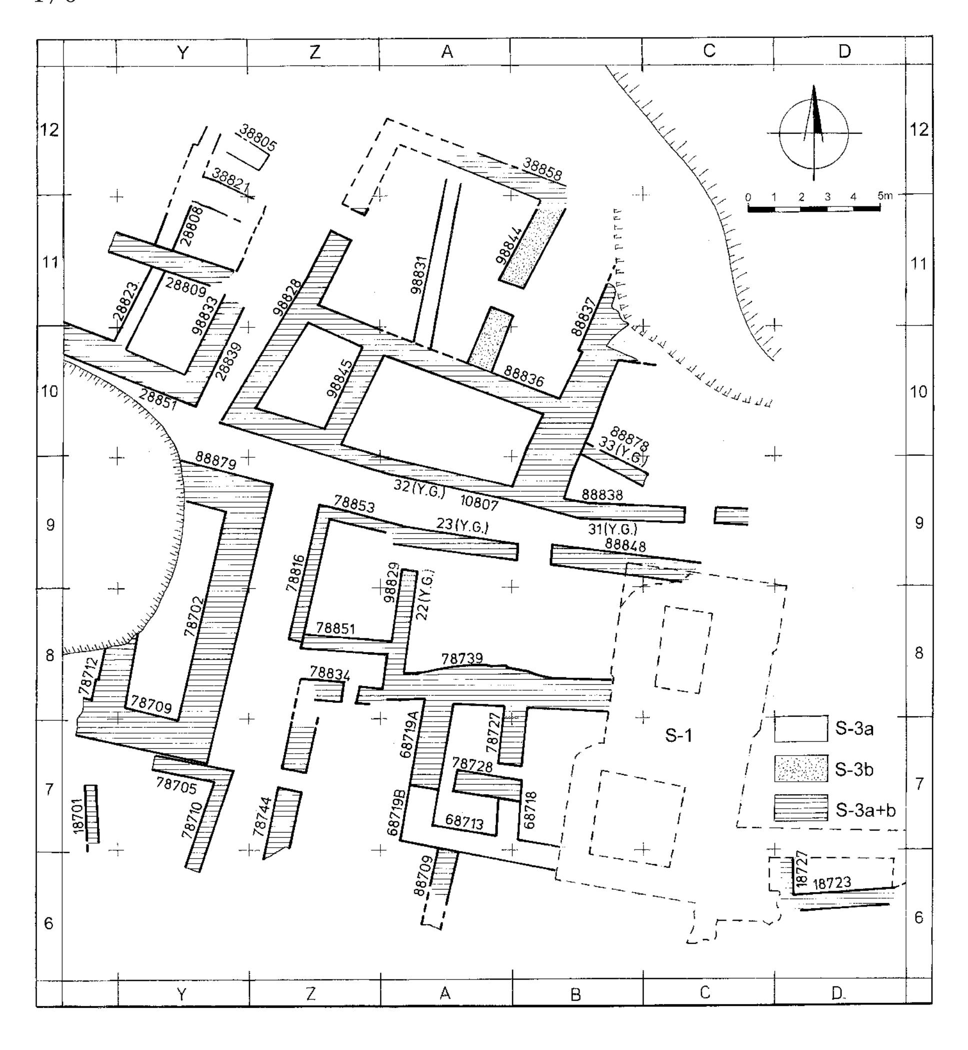


Fig. 10 Schematic plan of Stratum S-3 houses (12th century BCE).

architectural changes in the houses occurred during a short period of *c.* 60-70 years, from the end of the 19th Dynasty until the end of the Egyptian presence, *c.* 1140/30 BCE, and one has to ask what the reason was for these changes. One possibility is that Stratum S-4 suffered from an earthquake. Two human skeletons found in Stratum S-4 domestic contexts may hint in this direction. Yet most of the floors of Stratum S-4 were found empty of finds *in situ*, with no actual evidence for fire or an abrupt end. In contrast, the houses of Stratum S-3a were destroyed by severe fire; buildings collapsed, creating a thick destruction debris of up to 1.2m deep. One can only guess what the reason was for this heavy destruc-

Four-Room House in Ramesside Egypt."

tion. A possible scenario is an attack by the local Canaanite population from neighboring cities such as Rehob or Pehal, or by semi-nomadic groups such as the Midianites (*cf.* the Gideon story in Judg. 6-7), in the time of Egyptian weakness during the days of Ramesses IV-VI, or even following the Egyptian withdrawal. This violent end of Stratum S-3a brought an end to the Egyptian presence at Beth-Shean.

The Northern Cemetery of Beth-Shean yielded eleven burial deposits containing fragments of about 50 anthropomorphic coffins and rich assemblages of burial gifts. These coffin burials are contemporary with the end of Level VII and with Level VI, and thus should be treated as part of the material culture assemblage relating to the Egyptian garrison town of the late 19th and 20th Dynasties.[38]

Egyptian Monuments, Inscriptions and Architectural Decoration

The exceptionally large number of Egyptian inscriptions and monuments found in Level VI and their spatial distribution throughout the excavated area is a unique phenomenon, unparalleled elsewhere in Canaan or in earlier levels at Beth-Shean itself, indicating a substantial difference between Levels VII and VI which needs to be explained.[39] Most prominent is the basalt statue of Ramesses III found in front of the Northern Temple of Level V but ascribed to Level VI.[40] Most of the inscribed door-jambs and lintels were made of white limestone. They include six inscriptions, mostly prayers on door-jambs from Building 1500 (our Area Q), and eight stones found in the eastern part of the area (our Area S), including the lintel of Ramesses Weser-khepesh with the royal names of Ramesses III. The same official is mentioned on a door-jamb at the entrance porch of the temple as "Ramesses Weserkhepesh commander of the troops of the lord of the two lands, great steward," and his father's name is mentioned as Thutmose.

[38] Oren, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth-Shean*, 101-50.

[39] For compilations see James, *The Iron Age at Beth Shan*; Ward, "Appendix D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI"; Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*, 64- 67.

[40] For discussion of this statue see Higginbotham, "The Statue of Ramesses III from Beth Shean." Yannai ("A New Approach to Levels VI-V at Beth-Shan") suggested that the Double Temple complex of Level V was constructed in a late phase of Level VI, still during the time of the 20th Dynasty, and thus the Egyptian monuments found in front of the Northern Temple were established there in a time when the Egyptian presence at Beth-Shean was still in existence. This is against the view of James and myself that the temples of Level V were erected during the Iron Age IB or even later. For the rejection of Yannai's suggestion see Mazar, *TBS III*, Chapter 1.

The latter is also mentioned on a broken lintel found in a room east of the temple as "Fanbearer on the right of the king, the captain of the troops, the overseer of foreign countries," and again on another lintel.

Ward, followed by Singer, suggested identifying Thutmose of these inscriptions with the person of the same name and titles mentioned on an ivory pen-case found in the Megiddo Stratum VIIA ivories hoard.[41] He suggested that either Thutmose was transferred to Megiddo from Beth-Shean, and his son Ramesses Weserkhepesh inherited his job, or that Thutmose was stationed only at Megiddo, and his son at Beth-Shean, assuming that Megiddo was "one of the most important Egyptian outposts in this area." However, this status of Megiddo has been rejected by Higginbotham and the present author.[42]

Level VI also yielded a number of Egyptian architectural decorations and reliefs: seven parts of an architectural facade in Egyptian style, including a frieze of uraei and a cornice in Egyptian style, some painted in red and blue, were found east of Building 1500, and a relief fragment showing a man sitting on a folding chair was found in the eastern concentration of stones (our Area S). Nearby, we discovered a fragment of a similar relief, showing a man sitting on a folded stool with a rigid back in Egyptian style. Deborah Sweeney suggested that these two fragments belonged to one lintel, showing two figures sitting back to back.[43] The lintel and the other stones in the cache (including the Ramesses Weserkhepesh lintel) may have belonged to one of the large Egyptian residencies or administrative buildings of Level VI.

Additional Egyptian monuments were found either in Level V, or were residual in later contexts and may have belonged to either Level VII or VI. These include the stele of Hesi-Nakht worshipping the goddess Antit, the lower part of a basalt stele of Amenemapt showing a male figure in Egyptian costume adoring an Egyptian funerary formula, a fragment of a basalt royal stele, a fragment of a basalt stele showing the back leg of a royal figure(?) and a few hieroglyphs, and several additional fragmentary inscriptions.[44]

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[41] Ward, "Appendix D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI," 174-76; Singer, "The Political Status of Megiddo VIIA."

[42] Higginbotham, *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*, 70-71; Mazar, "Megiddo in the Thirteenth-Eleventh Centuries BCE," 270-71.

[43] Sweeney, "The Man on the Folding Chair." For the new reconstruction see Sweeney, *TBS III*, Chapter 13C.

[44] Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-shan*, 34: fig.8, 37-38, pls. 49:1-2 and 50:2; Ward, "Appendix D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI," 171; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian*

The Egyptian monumental inscriptions mentioned above could probably be read by Egyptian high-ranking officials, though it is inconceivable that local Canaanites or low-ranking Egyptian military personnel could read hieroglyphs. The monuments were probably intended to impress the local population and symbolize the Egyptian hegemony. Knowledge of and the ability to write in hieratic at Beth-Shean during the 13th-12th centuries BCE is demonstrated by two hieratic inscriptions on pottery sherds. One – an "execration text" – was found by UME in Level VII and mentioned above, the second – perhaps mentioning "the bow of 'Anat" was found in our Stratum S-3a.[45] An unusual short inscription incised on bone is probably an attempt of locals or illiterate Egyptians to imitate Egyptian hieroglyphs, and demonstrates the exposure of people at the site to the Egyptian culture.[46]

In one room in a house in Area S we found scattered remains of wall paintings in black, red, blue and yellow on mud plaster depicting Egyptian motifs known since the 18th Dynasty, such as the rosette and lotus petal motifs. Arlette David, who studied these paintings, found close similarities to New Kingdom Egyptian painting on mud plaster in important rooms of private houses at Amarna, Deir el-Medineh and in Nubia. The rosette motif recalls similar rosettes in the palaces of Malkatah and Amarna.[47] The wall paintings at Beth-Shean perhaps decorated a house of a high-ranking Egyptian official, indicating the efforts of such officials to decorate their houses in a way as similar as possible to their homeland.

Ethnicity, Economy and Society in Beth-Shean During the Ramesside Period

The architecture and monuments described above definitely indicate that Beth-Shean was an Egyptian garrison town and administrative center where Egyptian troops and officials actually lived. Even Higginbotham, who suggested a concept of "elite emulation" in Canaan rather than direct Egyptian presence, excluded from this concept sites like Beth-Shean which were centers of Egyptian administration.[48] But what was the part of local Canaanites at the town? What was the character of the interaction between these two population groups? Daily artifacts are crucial in answering this question, and our

Garrison at Beth Shan, 249-250 Nos. 4,5, 9,11.

[45] Wimmer, "Ein Ächtungstext aus Israel/Palästina," "Der Bogen der Anat in Bet-Schean?" and *TBS III*, Chapter 13B.

[46] Goldwasser, *TBS III*, Chapter 13A.

[47] David, *TBS III*, Chapter 11.

[48] Higginbotham, "Elite Emulation and Governance in Ramesside Canaan" and *Egyptianization and Elite Emulation in Ramesside Palestine*.

excavations provide precise data concerning the relative quantities of artifacts.[49]

Pottery

Detailed quantitative analysis of the pottery from the late 13th and 12th centuries BCE in our excavations (Fig. 11), carried out by Nava Panitz Cohen (for Canaanite types) and Mario Martin (for Egyptian types), resulted in a division into two major groups of almost equal percentage – Egyptian forms made locally, and Canaanite forms.[50] As evidenced by petrographic analysis, very few vessels (one-handled cups and a few jars) were imported from Egypt, while most of the Egyptian forms were made locally.[51] The details of the shapes and manufacturing technology indicate that the local workshop was operated by professional Egyptian potters; even the ware fabric imitates fabrics that were used in Egypt.[52] The Egyptian forms include mainly flat bowls with splayed red-painted rims as well as a few other bowl types. Much less common were closed vessels; the so-called "beer jars" are a typical Egyptian form that must have been related to a specific purpose, either preparing beer (as maintained by Martin) or another function. Some red-slipped storage jars and "tear-shaped" bottles also appear, though not in large numbers, and spinning bowls in Egyptian form were used in the textile industry. All other pottery types in each of the houses were of indigenous Canaanite forms and manufacturing techniques and they comprise roughly 50% of the assemblages. Interestingly, each group maintains its own traditions, and there is no evidence for hybridization in forms of vessels. Both Panitz-Cohen and Martin suggest that the proportion between Canaanite and Egyptian pottery reflects the proportion between Egyptian and Canaanite populations at the site. I am less convinced in this matter, since we cannot know if the Canaanite pottery was produced at Beth-Shean itself or was brought from nearby Canaanite cities. The Egyptian table-ware must be seen as an ethnic marker, but the Egyptians at Beth-Shean certainly used also Canaanite vessels, since the Egyptian forms included only limited forms. We are thus unable to say which of the households was "Egyptian" and

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49 James and McGovern assumed that most of Beth-Shean's population during the time of Levels VIII-VI was Canaanite, based on the relative quantity of Egyptian (25%) vs. Canaanite (75%) pottery forms as well as other artifacts. James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 238.

50 Panitz-Cohen, *TBS III,* Chapter 5 and Martin, *TBS III*, Chapter 6.

51 Cohen-Weiberger, "Petrographic Analysis of the Egyptian Forms"; *TBS III*, Chapter 7.

52 James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 244-45; Martin, *TBS III*, Chapter 7.



Fig. 11 Group of Egyptian style pottery vessels from Strata S-4 and S-3.

which was "Canaanite" based on the pottery types. A prominent feature is the lack of Egyptian cooking vessels; all cooking pots are of local Canaanite types. Were the users of these Canaanite cooking pots and other local shapes Egyptians who adopted local pottery forms for daily use or were they Canaanites who lived aside the Egyptians? Both Panitz-Cohen and Martin suggest that Canaanite women were married or lived with Egyptian officials and military personnel. This is one of several possible scenarios which may be suggested. If pottery can be considered as a mirror to social and ethnic aspects, it may in our case reflect symbiosis and a mutual relationship between Egyptians and Canaanites at Beth-Shean during the 13th-12th centuries BCE, though conclusions concerning proportions between these two groups and the exact nature of these relations are beyond our grasp.

Glyptique

The considerable number of scarabs, in particular a concentration of five 19th Dynasty scarabs in a room of Stratum N-4, provide additional evidence for direct relations with Egypt. According to Brandl, most of the important scarabs were produced in Egypt during the 19th Dynasty. Several seal impressions on clay sealings of jars or other

packages are evidence for administration and shipment of marked goods to and from Beth-Shean.[53] A rare commemorative scarab of Amenhotep III describing the arrival in the 10th year of his reign of the Mittanian princess Kirgippa found on a Stratum S-3 floor is one of six such scarabs known thus far and the only one found outside Egypt.[54] The fact that it was found on the latest floor level attributed to the Egyptian garrison town indicates that it was considered a valuable heirloom, kept for generations.

Other Artifacts

Egyptian experts and craftsmen working at Beth-Shean permanently or periodically certainly included scribes, sculptors and engravers of reliefs and inscriptions, potters, wall painters, and perhaps also experts in faience and glass manufacture. Some of the Egyptian artifacts were imported from Egypt and others were locally produced. These include duck-or goose-shaped clay figurines, cobra-shaped clay figurines and so-called "fire dogs."[55] A few faience amulets from our excavations can be added to the many amulets found by UME, mainly in the Level VII temple deposits, which are the largest collection of such amulets outside of Egypt; and perhaps several of them were produced locally.[56] Additional Egyptian objects include an Egyptian type stone altar, stone fittings, a few calcite-alabaster vessels, some additional stone objects, and a bronze razor. The lack of metal weapons of Egyptian type should be noted, considering the status of Beth-Shean as an Egyptian imperial garrison town.

Other daily artifacts found in the 13th-12th centuries BCE levels at Beth-Shean were produced by local Canaanite craftsmen, either at Beth-Shean itself or at nearby Canaanite sites. Among them are many of the clay figurines, grinding stones, spinning and textile manufacturing equipment such as spindles and whorls, much of the jewelry, clay figurines, ivory and

53 Brandl, *TBS III*, Chapter 12A.

54 Goldwasser, "A 'Kirgipa' Commemorative Scarab of Amunhotep III from Beit-Shean" and *TBS III*, Chapter 12B.

55 Mazar, *TBS III*, Chapter 9A; David, *TBS III*, Chapter 9B.

56 Herrmann, *TBS III*, Chapter 13E. Scientific analysis of silicate objects from Beth-Shean Levels VIII/VII by McGovern and his team has shown that faience and glass beads and some of the pendants were produced locally at Beth-Shean by craftsmen well trained in Egyptian technology, using some raw materials which were brought from Egypt. McGovern, *Late Bronze Palestinian Pendants*; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 245-46. Herrmann, *Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel* III and in *TBS III*, Chapter 13E suggests that the faience pendants were imported from Egypt, yet McGovern's research may hint that faience amulets were produced at Beth-Shean.

bone cosmetic boxes, most of the copper based objects, bone objects, various stone objects, and gypsum vessels, the latter made from gypsum quarried close to Beth-Shean, in addition to 50% of the pottery.[57] Thus most of the daily equipment was produced by local craftsmen.

The high status of the inhabitants of the residential quarter in Area S is demonstrated by elaborate finds like a gold foil hammered ram's head that apparently served as a furniture casing, plain gold foils, and jewelry items including gold earrings and pendants, gold and silver earrings and rings, carnelian, other semi-precious stones, and glass and faience beads.

Trade and Foreign Relations

Very few objects indicate international trade connections, except those that are related directly to Egypt. Very few sherds of Mycenaean and Cypriot imported pottery of the 13th century BCE were found by us.[58] The only ceramic evidence for western connections during the 12th century BCE are *c.* 30 Myc IIIC sherds and one restored vessel.[59] Typological and analytical studies of these sherds point to eastern Cyprus as the country of origin. Since such imported pottery is rare in the southern Levant, it probably reached Beth-Shean under special circumstances, perhaps due to small scale privately initiated trade. Those who brought such vessels may have been Cypriots who were hired as mercenaries for the Egyptian garrison at Beth-Shean, and the vessels could have been brought either for their own sake or as containers of special oils to be sold to local Egyptian high-ranking officials. The presence of such "Sea Peoples" mercenaries at Beth-Shean was suggested by Oren, based on the few "grotesque style" anthropoid clay coffins found in the Northern Cemetery aside almost 50 naturalistic coffin lids made in Egyptian style.[60] A few additional pottery sherds indicating Aegean inspiration might have been produced in local workshops along the Levant, yet the amount of such sherds is almost negligible.[61]

[57] See Chapters 10, 14-16 in *TBS III*. See also James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 238.

[58] James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 238 claim that in Levels VIII and VII "Mycenaean and Cypriot imports outnumber even Egyptian-style types." Yet this statement is not supported by the small sample of 13th century loci excavated by us in areas Q and N.

[59] Mazar, "Myc IIIC in the Land of Israel"; Sherratt and Mazar, "Mycenaean IIIC and Related Pottery from Beth Shean"; Sherratt, *TBS III*, Chapter 7a; Mommsen *et al.*, *TBS III*, Chapter 7C.

[60] Oren, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth-Shean*, 247 suggested the identification of these people with the *Danuna* Sea Peoples; see also James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 247.

[61] Mazar, "Myc IIIC in the Land of Isra-

Three small silver hoards from Stratum S-4 are of particular interest, since they contain, in the words of Christine Thompson "… the clearest material indication of the monetary function of *Hacksilber* so far uncovered in the ancient Near East." One of the items in the hoards, part of a "chocolate bar" silver ingot "is the earliest recognized piece of counterfeit silver in the ancient Near East."[62] Could these hoards be the wages of Egyptian officials or mercenaries at Beth-Shean?

Analysis of raw materials for various items and products found at Beth-Shean include a wide variety of sources: silver from the Taurus Mountains of southeast Turkey and the Laurion mines in Greece and gold from Egypt. Isotopic analysis of copper- based objects carried out by Naama Yahalom-Mack and Irena Segal indicates that the copper most probably originated in the Timnaʿ mines which were operated by the Egyptians during the 13th-12th centuries BCE.[63] Fish was consumed during the 20th Dynasty at Beth-Shean much more than in any other period in the history of the site.[64] Several of the species, in particular Nile perch, were brought from Egypt, and others from the Mediterranean, and they are evidence for a trade system in dried fish from Egypt and the Mediterranean coast to the inland site of Beth-Shean. According to Omri Lernau, this perhaps may be related to the specific demand and culinary habits of the Egyptian officials at Beth-Shean, who consumed fish in their homeland. Three samples of cedar wood were identified in large buildings related to the Egyptian administration of the 20th Dynasty, indicating import of such logs from the Lebanese Mountains.

Weights were crucial for trade, and the few stone weights from our excavations confirm the notion that the Egyptian *dbn* unit was the basic unit in our region.

Agriculture and Diet

75% of the wood samples turned out to be olive trees.[65] Similar numbers were extracted from the MB-LB strata and Iron II strata, thus indicating that olive groves were a major component of the agricultural landscape around Beth-Shean throughout the 2nd millennium BCE. It seems that olive oil was an important industry in this region, yet whether it was produced in Beth-Shean itself or in neighboring Canaanite towns, or in both cannot be said.

Quantities of wheat were found in certain granary chambers and

el"; Zukerman, *TBS III*, Chapter 7B.

[62] Thompson, *TBS III*, Chapter 11A.

[63] Yahalom-Mack and Segal, *TBS III*, Chapter 10C.

[64] Lernau, *TBS III*, Chapter 18.

[65] Baruch, *TBS III*, Chapter 17B.

silos. Other small silos of stratum S-3 contained flaxseeds, indicating the use of flax in the local textile industry and perhaps also in producing flax oil, as was common in Egypt.[66] As mentioned above, fish consumption was particularly high in this period. The two last items may indicate particular Egyptian dietary habits.

Gender

Three daily activities which are traditionally related to women are the textile industry, grinding cereals and cooking. All the artifacts related to these activities at Beth-Shean are similar to those in Canaanite towns, except the appearance of spinning bowls, which are an Egyptian feature, but were not very common at Beth-Shean. The lack of loom weights also resembles the situation in LB Canaan.[67] This data may point to the presence of Canaanite women at Beth-Shean, though several scenarios can be suggested: Canaanite women could be part of Canaanite families who lived at Beth-Shean aside the Egyptians and cooperated with them; they could be women married to Egyptian officials or military personnel (as suggested by Martin and Panitz-Cohen, see above) or they could be local women from nearby settlements serving the Egyptian garrison without actually living at the site.

Religion and Iconography

The interaction between Egyptian and Canaanite religion and iconography and religious syncretism at Beth-Shean is expressed in the temple architecture, several monuments, and various artifacts from levels VII and VI.[68] Our finds support this conclusion. It may be asked who were the gods worshipped at the Beth-Shean temples? Were they Egyptian or Canaanite? The Mekal stele from Level VIII or VII and the 'Antit (='Anat?) stele found (probably residual) in the Level V temple mentioned above indicate the worship of local Canaanite deities by Egyptian officials. The mentioning of the "the bow of 'Anat," according to Wimmer's interpretation (see above), may indicate the worship or adoration of this Canaanite goddess.

Clay figurines, libation vessels, votive human hands and legs and other cult objects found in the Egyptian 19th-20th Dynasties strata show a mixture of Canaanite and Egyptian traditions. 48% of these objects in our excavations – cobra figurines, goose/duck heads and

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[66] Kislev and others, *TBS III*, Chapter 17A.

[67] Yasur-Landau, *TBS* I, 666-71. See also James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 246.

[68] Thompson, *Mekal, the God of Bet Shean*; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 239-44.

vessels with zoomorphic snouts – are identical to Egyptian objects, though produced locally. More than half of the clay cult objects are Canaanite in nature or unique, recalling the proportion between Egyptian and Canaanite pottery in the same strata, again perhaps reflecting the mixed population at the site. Faience amulets depicting Egyptian deities and religious motifs were also common, as mentioned above.

Burial Customs

The rich finds in the coffin burials from the Northern Cemetery mentioned above add important data on the beliefs and customs of the Egyptian personnel at Beth-Shean.[69] The Egyptian character of the burials, demonstrated by the clay coffins, *ushebti* figurines and other artifacts resembles the cemetery at Deir el-Balah, which can be attributed with certainty to Egyptian officials or military personnel. In both cemeteries, however, there is also abundant local Canaanite pottery.

Conclusions

The various aspects of the material culture at Beth-Shean surveyed above support the identification of much of the population with Egyptian officials and military personnel, while there might have been an important component of local Canaanite population who perhaps worked at the service of the Egyptians or lived aside them. The relative proportions between these two populations, and the social interaction between them, remains unknown. In addition, there were perhaps a few "Sea People," perhaps of Cypriot origin, serving as mercenaries in the Egyptian personnel during the 20th Dynasty, as was common in Egypt since the 14th century BCE.

Chronology

The Egyptian inscriptions from Beth-Shean listed above provide an important anchor for absolute chronology in the 13th-12th centuries BCE in the Southern Levant, though most of the monuments with Pharaohnic names were not found *in situ*. As mentioned above, the date of Level VII was established by several scarabs, the faience plaques from Level VII temple (mentioned above) which mention Ramesses and Merneptah,[70] on the assumption that the stele of Ramesses II and the cylinder seal with his name found in Level V originally belonged to Level VII, and on the Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery found in that stratum. A

[69] Oren, *The Northern Cemetery of Beth-Shean*, 132-50; James and McGovern, *The Late Bronze Egyptian Garrison at Beth Shan*, 239.

[70] As to Porter's views on these plaques, see above.

scarab with the name of Ramesses II came from our Stratum N-4 which can be correlated with Level VII. The material culture of Level VII resembles the temple of Tell Deir 'Alla Phase E (general Phase 12), where an Egyptian faience goblet with the name of queen Tewosret was found.[71] The single year reign of this queen, *c.* 1182 BCE according to Kitchen,[72] provides the lowest possible date for the Deir 'Alla and Beth-Shean Level VII assemblages, which include the latest appearance of Myc IIIB and Cypriot LCII imported pottery. This is a crucial chronological datum line in the chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean. The end of Level VII should be correlated with the end of our Stratum N-4.

As to Level VI (correlated with our strata S-4 and S-3 and perhaps also S-5), the statue of Ramesses III and the lintel of Ramesses Weser-khepesh both carry cartouches of Ramesses III. The statue was found in Level V, probably in a secondary context, but the lintel can safely be attributed to Level VI, as it belongs to a series of inscriptions and reliefs of Level VI (see above). There is thus good reason to attribute the statue to Level VI as well. A scarab of Ramesses III was found by us when the UME debris of Level VI was cleaned in Area N. A scarab of Ramesses IV is the latest New Kingdom dated object found at Beth-Shean.[73] Nine C^{14} dates from two contexts of Strata N-4 and S-3a have been published.[74] The combined average calibrated dates for the samples from Stratum N-4 is 1210-1125 CalBC in the 68.2% probability range, and for Stratum S-3a is 1195-1120 CalBC. They thus fit the archaeological and historical date, yet fail to enable a more refined dating.

Finkelstein suggested that Strata S-4 and S-3 at Beth-Shean postdate Megiddo VIIA, due to the lack of Myc IIIC pottery in the latter. This suggestion should be rejected on several grounds. Megiddo VIIA must be contemporary with Beth-Shean S-4 and S-3, both dating to the time of the 20th Dynasty.[75]

[71] Van der Kooij, "Tell Deir 'Alla: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Chronology," 224, Table 10.

[72] Kitchen, "The historical chronology of ancient Egypt," 42.

[73] Weinstein, "The Scarabs, Plaques, Seals and Rings," 221 and pl. 165:8.

[74] Mazar and Carmi, "Radiocarbon Dates from Iron Age Strata at Tel Beth Shean and Tel Rehov"; Mazar, *TBS III*, Chapter 1.

[75] Finklestein, "The Stratigraphy and Chronology of Megiddo and Beth Shean in the 12th-11th Centuries B.C.E." Creating a chronological distinction between Megiddo VIIA and Beth-Shean S-4 and S-3 during such a short time of about 60 years is absurd. The lack of Myc IIIC imports at Megiddo VIIA should be understood as the normal state of affairs in the period following the demise of the international trade of the 14th and 13th centuries BCE, while the phenomenon of very small scale imported Cypriot Myc IIIC at Beth-Shean

An Assessment of the Egyptian Presence in Canaan During the 20th Dynasty

The evidence from Beth-Shean shows a strong and prominent Egyptian presence during the 20th Dynasty. Yet it appears that Beth-Shean is one of the few Egyptian strongholds that survived the end of the 19th Dynasty. Several Egyptian strongholds of the 19th Dynasty appear to have been abandoned during the 12th century BCE: Deir el-Balah, Jaffa and Aphek (if indeed it was an Egyptian stronghold). In contrast, other Egyptian strongholds continued to be in use during the 20th Dynasty, such as Phase II of the Egyptian fort at Haruba in North Sinai, Tel Sera' Stratum IX and Tel Mor Stratum VI. At the latter, however, a large citadel of the 13th century BCE was replaced by a small, solid tower in the 12th century. The situation at Tell el Far'ah (South) is far from being clear.[76] Lachish Stratum VI and Megiddo VIIA yielded several Egyptian artifacts of the 20th Dynasty, yet it seems that both continued to be Canaanite cities during the 12th century rather than being Egyptian strongholds. Tubb suggested the existence of an Egyptian 20th Dynasty stronghold at Tell Sa'iyidieh, yet this has still to be substantiated in publication.[77] The fate of the Egyptian strongholds in Lebanon – Ṣumur (Tell Kazel), Kumidi (Khamnid el-Loz) and Ulaza (Beirut?) – is unknown, but at least Kumidi appears to have been abandoned in the 12th century. The copper mine at Timna' continued to operate during the 20th Dynasty, but this endeavor was directly related to Egypt through Sinai. It thus appears that the Egyptian grasp of Canaan was much weaker during the 20th Dynasty than in the 19th Dynasty. On this background we may explain the Philistine settlement in Philistia which in the opinion of many scholars occurred during the time of the 20th Dynasty.[78]

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and a few other sites is the exception. In addition, Megiddo itself produced at least one large Myc IIIC krater (Mountjoy, "A Mycenaean Vase from Megiddo").

[76] For a general survey see Ward, "Appendix D. The Egyptian Inscriptions of Level VI," 174-79; Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment"; for Deir el Balah see Dothan, "Deir el-Balah"; for Jaffa see Gadot and Yadin, *Aphek-Antipatris II: the remains on the acropolis*; for Haruvit see Oren, "The 'Ways of Horus' in North Sinai," 84-97; for Tel Sera' see Oren, "Sera', Tel-"; for Tel Mor see Barako, *Tel Mor, The Moshe Dothan Excavations*, 242-43.

[77] Tubb and Dorell, "Tell es-Sa'idiyeh," 56-58.

[78] Mazar, "Myc IIIC in the Land of Israel" and "From 1200 to 850 B.C.E.: Remarks on Some Selected Archaeological Issues," 90-95. For a different view see Ussishkin, "Level VII and VI at Tel Lachish and the End of the Late Bronze Age in Canaan" and "The Date of the Philistine Settlement in the Coastal Plain."

In light of this general picture we have to ask why the 20th Dynasty rulers (probably mainly during the time of Ramesses III) established public buildings with a large number of monumental dedicatory inscriptions, royal statues and architectural decoration throughout the town of Beth-Shean? The establishment of the representative palace, Building 1500, on the foundations of a more functional building symbolize this phenomenon. These changes may be explained as an attempt to "show off" and provide elaborate manifestation and propaganda of the Egyptian presence and control in this time of turmoil. Yet as often happens in history, elaborate buildings do not necessarily express power, and it seems that the general picture in the 12th century BCE is that of a decline of Egyptian power, which finally came to an end in severe violent destruction, perhaps due to attacks by locals.

Conclusions

The new excavations at Tel Beth-Shean have refined our knowledge and shed additional light on the history of the site during the 2nd millennium BCE. The archaeological evidence shows that the small Middle Bronze town, located on a strategic and naturally protected hill, which was not one of the major Canaanite cities, fell prey to 18th Dynasty Egypt which turned the town into a governmental center, probably shortly after the establishment of the empire in the 15th century BCE. For approximately 300 years the town continued to serve the Egyptian government. Two violent destructions that occurred during this period (at the end of Levels IX and VII) were followed by reconstruction, until the final destruction by fire towards the end of the Egyptian presence during the late 20th Dynasty. Monuments and statues erected at the site during the 19th and in particular during the 20th Dynasty are evidence of bold Egyptian propaganda and "showing off." In the 20th Dynasty, this does not necessarily constitute evidence of strength, but might rather indicate quite the contrary. Throughout this period Beth-Shean remained a rather small town of *c.*1.5-2 hectares, an Egyptian stronghold settled mainly by Egyptians and their mercenaries, some of them perhaps of foreign (so-called "Sea Peoples") origin, alongside a certain amount of Canaanites who probably were at the service of the Egyptians and maintained trade connections as well as economic relations with nearby Canaanite cities like Rehob (Tel Rehov), which was the largest Canaanite city in the Beth-Shean valley.

Table 1: Tel Beth-Shean in the Late Bronze and Iron Age I: Stratigraphic Table

Period	Centuries BCE	University Museum	The Hebrew University Excavations		
			Areas R and S	Area N North	Area Q
Iron Age IB	11th	Temples of Level V and structures of Late Level VI	### S-2	N-2	
Iron Age IA	12th until *c.* 1140 BCE	Level VI	### S-3a-b S-4 S-5?	N-3a N-3b	Q-1 (Building 1500) Q2 (?)
LB IIB	13th	"Late Level VII" Level VII		N-4	Q-2
	13th	Level VIII			Q-3 ?
LBIIA	14th	Level IX1	R-1a		
LBIB	Late 15th	Level IX2	R-1b		
LBIA-B(?)	15th	-	R-2		

###: destruction by fire

Abbreviations

ANET Pritchard, J.B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press , 1950.

TBS I Mazar, A. *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996. Volume I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period*. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006.

TBS II Mazar, A. and R.A. Mullins, eds. *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996. Volume II: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R*. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007.

TBS III Panitz-Cohen, N. and A. Mazar, eds. *Excavations at Tel Beth-Shean 1989-1996. Volume III*. The Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, in press.

UME University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition.

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Levantine Thinking in Egypt

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Abstract

Upon examination of material and textual remains, there is a great deal of evidence for more contact with the Levant than many have supposed. This contact took the form of both Egyptians in the Levant and Asiatics in Egypt. Furthermore, the Shipwrecked Sailor bears hallmarks of Levantine literature. This famous tale may thus say something significant about Egyptian/Levantine relations. It seems to attest to intellectual influence flowing into Egypt from the Levant.

The Footprint of Intellectual Influence

We are approaching a clearer understanding of Egypt's relations with the Levant during the Middle Kingdom.[1] Past ideas have ranged from the supposition of little contact to the notion of an Egyptian empire,[2] and recently many scholars posit that while there was no empire there was an organic, healthy and lively exchange between the two areas,[3] including eras and areas of Egyptian dominance.[4] We can take our understanding of those relations one step further; we can look for intellectual exchange. While a strong case can be made for Egyptian influence among her northern neighbors, it is more difficult to determine if the impact also flowed the other way. If we want to know whether there was any kind of intellectual influence issuing into Egypt from the Levant, we must look for evidence of both opportunity and impact. Such an examination reveals that not only was the contact between the two areas substantial enough for a bi-directional intellectual influence to be possible, but even likely. Additionally, the Shipwrecked Sailor may exhibit marks of this influence.

While many have investigated Middle Kingdom influence in the Levant, to date no full compilation of evidences for Levantine contact during the Middle Kingdom exists. Such a compilation would not only be a useful tool for future scholar-

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[1] By Middle Kingdom, I mean from the reigns of the Mentuhoteps until about MerneffераIy. See Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 126; Quirke, "Identifying the Officials of the Fifteenth Dynasty," 171.

[2] For an insightful discussion on these opposing views, the assumptions which influence them, and ways to move forward, see Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections*, 33.

[3] Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 81.

[4] Gee, "Overlooked Evidence." See also Cohen, *Canaanites, Chronologies, and Connections*, 50, 139.

ship (if a "complete" compilation is even possible), but is necessary if we are to have a fully rounded-out picture of opportunity for intellectual exchange. Thus we will first examine indications of an Egyptian presence in the Levant, a contact which would make a cultural/intellectual exchange possible. Since much work has been done in this area, here I will present only a brief summary. Next, we will turn our attention to the mixed presence in the Sinai. We will then look at an Asiatic presence in Egypt, an element that enables, if not requires, an intellectual exchange to occur. Finally, we will investigate features present in the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor, which carries a very visible footprint of Levantine intellectual influence.

Manifestations of an Egyptian Presence in the Levant

In many studies it would be most desirable to document evidence chronologically, and some of this has been done.[5] I wish to be clear. As Daphna Ben-Tor's piece in this volume demonstrates, interaction between Egypt and various portions of the Levant was anything but static. There was a waxing and waning of contact with both the northern and southern Levant, and differing portions of Egypt had differing degrees of such interaction over periods of time. While there was certainly an ebb and flow of contact during the long Middle Kingdom, we are attempting to examine the opportunities for exchange over just such a lengthy period of time, since intellectual influence does not happen suddenly. Moreover, the Shipwrecked Sailor is a piece of Middle Kingdom literature that has not been dated more precisely. For this paper, then, we will look at the large temporal picture, glossing over those chronological details that are so important for other subjects of study.

Archeological Witnesses of Contact

When examining archeological evidence for Egyptian contact in the Levant, we must use special care. Many artifacts made during the Middle Kingdom probably traveled to the Syro-Canaanite area during the Hyksos era, after the end of the Middle Kingdom. Since the Hyksos occupation significantly changed the face of Egypt and its internationalization, we will only look at artifacts that were sealed *in situ* before the end of the Middle Kingdom, or that are reasonably sure to have arrived at their destination before the Second Intermediate Period.

Megiddo seems to have been a hot spot of Egyptian Middle Kingdom contact. Six percent of

5 Gee, "Overlooked Evidence."

the undisturbed tombs that were sealed before the end of the Middle Kingdom and left undisturbed contained Egyptian scarabs,[6] demonstrating an Egyptian presence.[7] Furthermore, in tombs which were sealed during the Middle Kingdom but were disturbed at some later time, but not re-used, various Middle Kingdom jars and scarabs were found. It is unlikely that tomb robbers or other invaders deposited goods in the tombs. Thus we may reasonably suppose that these items were placed there during the Middle Kingdom. While items such as scarabs are highly portable, even if the scarabs changed hands several times before arriving at their resting place, at some point they had to cross from Egypt to the Levant, and that is our connection point: it is inescapable that if these objects arrived in a foreign country, someone in Egypt had to have had some contact with a foreign element. Thus, if a Middle Kingdom scarab is found sealed in a Middle Bronze IIA context, it must represent some kind of Levantine-Egyptian contact during the era.

Additionally, a small statue of the Egyptian official Thuthotep was found *ex-situ* at Megiddo. While normally we would be unjustified in positing a Middle Kingdom contact here since it was discovered in an insecure context,[8] in the current case this is mitigated by the fact that in his tomb Thuthotep is shown bringing cattle from the Levant. *Coupling* the statue with the tomb depiction leads us to conjecture that Thuthotep was involved with Megiddo as an Egyptian agent dealing with the shipment of cattle and other goods to Egypt.[9] While this is only hypothetical, if correct not only was there ample opportunity for this official to be influenced by Asiatics, but also his household and staff as well. It is likely that he was not the only individual involved in this type of venture. Undoubtedly there was some form of an "intensive relationship" between Middle Kingdom Egypt and Megiddo,[10] affording much opportunity for interaction and exchange. This may be representative of what we know from other evidence, namely that there were many officials and their staff located in the Levant who were in charge of sending levies to

[6] Weinstein, "Egyptian Relations With Palestine In the Middle Kingdom," 1-2; Kenyon, "The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata at Megiddo"; and Loud, *Megiddo II*.

[7] The greatest number of scarabs from the Levant come from the time of Senusret I. See Giveon, "The Impact of Egypt on Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age," 25; Dussaud, "Nouveaux Renseignements sur la Palestine et la Syrie."

[8] Weinstein, "Megiddo," 368. Weinstein, for example, thinks the statue came to Megiddo as loot.

[9] Blackman, *The Rock-Tombs of Meir,* 4; Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 187.

[10] Bietak, "Canaanites in the Eastern Nile Delta," 50.

Egypt that included cattle, wine, vessels, oil, metals, food, weapons, semi-precious stones and people.[11] This is corroborated by a literary text which speaks of an Egyptian treasurer returning from an expedition to Syria.[12]

Nearby Tel Ifshar contains numerous Egyptian vessels in settlement layers dating to the middle of the 20th century.[13] Middle Kingdom scarabs, seal impressions, Egyptianized ivory inlays, carnelian beads, Egyptian jars, or statues of officials have been found at Neby Rubin,[14] Dahrat el-Humraiya,[15] El-Jisr,[16] Tel Aviv,[17] Tel el-'Ajjul,[18] Gezer,[19] and Gerar,[20] all from Middle Kingdom contexts.

An overwhelming amount of evidence demonstrates that Byblos, which was probably the cultural seat of Syria-Canaan at the time,[21] was heavily influenced by Egypt.[22] The rulers in Byblos were so substantially influenced by Egypt that they seem to have willingly adopted much of Egyptian culture and to have become, in the Egyptian mind, an extension of Egypt.[23] It is highly unlikely that the exchange was completely one-sided. Even if Egypt was the "dominant culture" in the cultural exchange, there was undoubtedly a Byblian influence

11 Farag, "Une insciption memphite de la XIIe dynastie"; Altenmüller and Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis"; Gee and Ricks, "Historical Plausibility," 77. Regarding Egyptian trade routes, see Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderisien*, 63.

12 Posener, "Fragment littéraire de Moscou"; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 77-78.

13 Paley and Porath, "Early Middle Bronze Age IIa Remains at Tel el-Ifshar, Israel," 378.

14 Weinstein, "Megiddo," 4; Mayer, "A Bronze Age Deposit".

15 Weinstein, "Megiddo," 4; and Mayer, "A Bronze Age Deposit." The alabaster vessels were likely not true alabaster, but instead are what we call "Egyptian alabaster," or, more properly, travertine.

16 Matthiae, "The Relations Between Ebla and Egypt," 422-23; Amiran, "The Ivory Inlays from the Tomb at el-Jisr Reconsidered"; Liebowitz, "Late Bronze II Ivory Work in Palestine."

17 Weinstein, "Megiddo," 5; Mayer, "A Bronze Age Deposit," 2-5.

18 Weinstein, "Megiddo," 5.

19 Giveon, "The Impact of Egypt on Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age," 25-26.

20 Gee, "Overlooked Evidence," 27.

21 Young, *Diversity in Pre-Exilic Hebrew*, 20.

22 Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte: Quatre compagnes de fouilles a Gebeil 1921-1922-1923-1924*, 127-39; Negbi and Moskowitz, "The 'Foundation Deposits' or 'Offering Deposits' of Byblos"; Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 187; Ward, *Egypt and the east Mediterranean world*, 62-63; Smith, "Influence of the Middle Kingdom of Egypt in Western Asia," 279-80; Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 145-46; and Giveon, "The Impact of Egypt on Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age," 24.

23 Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 146.

on Egypt, at least on the micro/individual level if not on the macro/societal level.

The newly published Dashur Khnumhotep inscription allows us to refine our understanding of the Middle Kingdom relation with Byblos.[24] The story told in the inscription contains evidence that early Middle Kingdom rulers had trade relations with both Byblos and Ulaza, a port north of Byblos. Such relations seem to have ebbed for a time, at least with Byblos, and then to have picked back up, likely in the time of Senusret III.[25] Khnumhotep records that the Byblites attempted to interfere with Ulaza and Egypt's relations there. Egypt intervened, gaining a decisive military victory, perhaps the same one spoken of by Khusobek. This may even have sparked the movement that would put Byblos under such direct control of Egypt. In any case, the inscription documents important contact with both Byblos and Ulaza.[26]

Ebla is another site which experienced a significant amount of contact with Egypt. Within a Middle Kingdom context excavators have found an Egyptian gold ring with lily flowers, an Egyptian necklace, amethyst beads, Egyptian alabaster vessels, and a ceremonial – possibly royal – ivory mace head with silver inlay demonstrating Egyptian techniques and motifs.[27] Additionally, many contemporary objects of fine Syrian craftsmanship from Ebla exhibit heavy Egyptian influence, including ivory inlays of a male head with what appears to be an *atef* crown, two figures wearing a *šwty* crown, a Horus figure, a female whose forehead is surmounted by two horns and a sun disk, and a male figure with a crocodile head – particularly fitting since Sobek became so important during Middle Kingdom Fayoum settlement efforts.[28] Old Syrian glyphs bear an affinity for Egyptian iconography and hieroglyphs, implying a somewhat steady relationship between the two areas.[29]

In Qatna, Ugarit, Ba'albek, and Beirut, small Egyptian statues – including those of officials – votive sphinxes, and Egyptian cylinder seals were uncovered in Middle Kingdom contexts.[30] As far north

24 Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dashur."

25 Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dashur," 36.

26 Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dashur," 34-38.

27 Matthiae, "Relations between Ebla and Egypt," 417-19; Weiss, *Ebla to Damascus. Art and Archaeology of Ancient Syria*, 239-40, objects 112 and 113.

28 Matthiae, "Relations between Ebla and Egypt," 420-21; Liebowitz, "Bone and Ivory Inlay from Syria and Palestine"; Matthiae, "Egyptianizing Ivory Inlays from Palace P at Ebla."

29 Matthiae, "Relations between Ebla and Egypt," 421.

30 von Beckerath, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Gesichte der zweiten Zwischen-*

as Anatolia, in Alaça Hüyuk, a *djed*-pillar plaque was discovered in an 18th century stratum, and a Bes figure from the earliest Hittite occupation level.[31] Other Middle Kingdom items were found, but in an insecure context, making it difficult to know at what date they traveled there.[32] Additionally, throughout all of the Levant, during the Middle Bronze Age (roughly equivalent with the Middle Kingdom) there was a great rise in imports of Egyptian stone vessels.[33]

Not all of the evidence presented above is of equal value. Contacts resulting from trade, or that demonstrated by the presence of scarabs or a few jars at some sites, are certainly of less import than the kind of influence we see in Byblos or even Megiddo; yet they still demonstrate that there was a steady flow of communication, exchange and travel between the two areas. Without this constant stream of interaction it would be unlikely that a cultural and intellectual exchange occurred; but with it we must posit that such an exchange is probable. When this stream of interaction is coupled with the more substantial sites, such as Byblos, it seems that an intellectual intercourse is unavoidable. Thus we see evidence for an Egyptian presence from the northern and southernmost parts of the Levant, with similar indices stemming from sites scattered in between. It becomes obvious that Egypt's contacts with the Levant were substantial, and afforded many of her citizens the chance to partake of a foreign culture, sometimes on a protracted basis.[34]

Textual Evidence

Execration Texts also document various relations between Egypt and Syria-Palestine. Not all of these relations were continually peaceful, but the Egyptians viewed them as important relationships nonetheless. The texts with which we are concerned can be dated, with relative certainty, to the 19th and 18th centuries BCE.[35] They display the names of cities and groups such as Jerusalem, Ashkelon, Rehob, Akko, Mishal, Achshaf, Valley of Akko, Rehob, Iyon, Laish, Hazor, Kadesh,

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zeit in Ägypten, 250; Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 187; Fay, *The Louvre Sphinx and Royal Sculpture from the Reign of Amenenhat II*, 64, 68 and pl. 94; Giveon, "The Impact of Egypt on Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age," 27; Matthiae, "Relations between Ebla and Egypt," 422; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 81.

[31] Mumford, "Mediterranean Area."

[32] Bittel, *Hattusha, the Capital of the Hittites*, 114-15.

[33] Sparks, "Egyptian Stone Vessels," 66.

[34] In addition to the citations listed above, see Ilan, "The Dawn of Internationalism – The Middle Bronze Age," 308; Marcus, *Tel Nami: A Study of a Middle Bronze Age IIA Period Coastal Settlement*.

[35] On the execration ritual, see Muhlestein, "Execration"; Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 144-53.

Shechem, Ashtaroth, and Qanah. The Execration Texts reflect Egypt's perception of rebellion or dissent in at least fifteen Levantine regions. This would imply that Egypt had been in regular contact and interaction with these foreign entities before, and likely after, the perceived rebellion. These interactions could not possibly exist in a culturally sterile environment. At the very least these texts indicate that Egypt possessed a detailed knowledge of Levantine polities and felt it had a permanent presence in the Levant.

This latter statement has been called into question. Amnon Ben-Tor has asked exactly the kind of question that should be asked when he examined how well contemporary archaeological evidence matched up with the names on the Execration Texts.[36] In the cases outside of the Canaanite area, archaeology seemed congruent with the names on the text, as it did with a number of settlements within Canaan. However, he identifies several listed locations that demonstrate sparse settlement during the time period. For many of these he demonstrates that the identifications of modern day sites with the names in the Execration Texts may be incorrect. In such a case, we may not know exactly where the Execration Texts refer to, but they still refer to some area in the Levant. Ben-Tor also notes that several of these contested sites demonstrate settlement before the period in question and after, but contain no or sparse evidence during that period.[37] He posits that the Middle Kingdom texts were copies of Old Kingdom texts, and thus reflect an Old Kingdom understanding of the Levant. Daphna Ben-Tor dovetails her scaraboid evidence with these findings, arguing that the scarcity of scarabs from this time period indicates a dip in international interaction between the two areas.[38] While this is possible, as is the idea that these sites were occupied, abandoned just during the period in question and were then resettled, we should be cautious in disregarding textual evidence in such a way. This is true of Amnon Ben-Tor's arguments about these specific sites, but is even more true of arguments about the Levant in general. In the face of a number of texts which mention contact with the Levant, it would seem that arguments from archaeological absence of evidence are trumped by arguments from textual presence of evidence.

While the Execration Texts may be copies, it is also quite likely that the ancient writers were more familiar with the sites of their day than we are. Amnon Ben-Tor's arguments add a needed note of

[36] A. Ben-Tor, "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture."

[37] A. Ben-Tor, "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture," 67-77.

[38] See D. Ben-Tor in this volume.

caution in using these texts. Yet his own discourse demonstrates a great deal of validity to the texts.[39] The argument really lies in the amount of contact they demonstrate, not in the fact of substantial contact itself. Ben-Tor's archaeological survey seems to confirm Allen's surmissions from the Khnumhotep inscription, namely that there was a rise in contact with the Levant, an ebb, and then another rise. Both Gee and Allen posit this resurgence during the reign of Senusret III.[40] Moreover, the evidence discussed thus far points towards the most substantial contact coming from the Syrian area, places named in both caches of Execration Texts and which demonstrate archaeological evidence for occupation. The sites Ben-Tor calls into question are from areas which already demonstrate less evidence for contact. However, this does not mean that they were fully unoccupied, nor that Egypt had no relations with these areas that had been important to her in the past. Thus our picture remains the same, of heavy contact with the largest population centers and less contact in the less settled areas.

As we look at other written evidences, we must ever keep in mind the idea that textual witnesses can be notoriously difficult to date, begging for caution in their use. However, many texts enjoy a wide acceptance as being Middle Kingdom texts and bear strong evidence upon our subject. For instance, the Tale of Sinuhe is generally accepted as being a Middle Kingdom composition.[41] We are informed in this tale that gifts were regularly exchanged between Egypt and the Levant, and that Egyptians were living in *Retenu* [the Levant]. Whether or not the text is historical, its author probably drew from the reality of his day.

Other texts mention ships being built of cedar wood,[42] almost certainly obtained from the Syro-Phoenician area. One steward of

[39] A. Ben-Tor, "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture," 66; Broshi and Gophna, "Middle Bronze Age II Palestine." A. Ben-Tor's research is excellent, but he goes beyond the capability of his evidence in concluding that there was no Egyptian interest in Palestine during the period in question (see p.79), and overstates scholarly acceptance of similar ideas. He does this partially by relying on his wife's very ambitious claims about international relations as determined by scarabs. See A. Ben-Tor, "Do the Execration Texts Reflect an Accurate Picture," 79; and D. Ben-Tor, "Egyptian and Levantine Relations and Chronology in the Middle Bronze Age," 246.

[40] Allen, "The Historical Inscription of Khnumhotep at Dashur"; Gee "Overlooked Evidence."

[41] Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinuhe and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems*, 21.

[42] Hayes, "Career of the Great Steward Henenu under Nebhetpetre Mentuhotpe"; Allen, "Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom," 18-21; Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 338.

the late 11th Dynasty bragged of bringing lumber from "the cedar slopes," and "collecting tribute from nomadic peoples."[43] A steady and significant amount of coffins from across the chronological spectrum of the Middle Kingdom were made of cedar.[44] Whether the wood was brought by Asiatics to Egypt, by Egyptians who went to Syria, or by a combination of both, which is most likely, we can be certain that the cedar for these coffins arrived in Egypt via some kind of foreign exchange. Similarly, both lapis lazuli[45] and true, unalloyed silver[46] are attested in significant amounts within Middle Kingdom Egypt. It is very likely that these elements came from Anatolia via some kind of foreign contact.

A 12th Dynasty official is described as having accompanied the king's monuments to distant lands, indicating some kind of official connection.[47] A late 11th Dynasty overseer records having fought the Asiatics (*ʿꜣmw*) in their highlands.[48] From the same time period a graffito notes the inscriber's participation in fighting the Asiatics (*ʿꜣmw*).[49] A fragment of Amenemhat II's annals records at least two invasions of the Levant.[50] A number of biographies describe military activities in the Levant.[51] One text mentions that travelers into the Levant regularly made out wills before embarking on their journey because of the known dangers there.[52] This would certainly suggest that travel through the Levant was a regular enough feature that many people had done it.

There are textual witnesses of a monumental nature for Middle Kingdom military activity in the Levant. Mentuhotep II's temple at Deir el-Bahari depicts him fighting an Asiatic war.[53] The stele of general Nesumenthu, who served during the reign of Senusret I, refers to hostilities against Asiatics and the destruction of a fortress.[54] Senusret III is memorialized for having expanded both the northern and southern border, or in other words, for having made more of the Levant (and Nubia) a part of Egypt.[55] Sebek-khu (or Khu-Sebek)

43 Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 337.
44 Gale, *et al.*, "Wood," 349-50.
45 Ciston, *et al.*, "Stone," 39-40.
46 Ogden, "Metals," 170-71.
47 Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 338.
48 Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, 39.
49 Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien*, 40; Ward, *Egypt and the east Mediterranean*, 62.
50 Farag, "Une insciption memphite de la XIIe dynastie"; Shaw, "Egypt and the Outside World," 325.
51 For a summary, see Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 82-90; Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 338.
52 Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 338.
53 Ward, *Egypt and the east Mediterranean*, 59-60.
54 Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 143; Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 337.
55 Gee, "Overlooked Evidence," 30.

confirms this by recounting a campaign conducted under Senusret III to *Skmm*, which is probably Shechem.[56] While military invasions do not constitute the most opportune avenue for a cultural exchange, they do demonstrate a kind of contact. At least in the Old Kingdom a military expedition to the Levant included priests, official functionaries, interpreters and bureaucrats.[57] Furthermore, invasions usually entailed booty of both people and items.

We have reviewed evidence for contacts which vary across a spectrum of valuation. Certainly military contacts were of less intellectual value than trade contacts, and travels to the Levant were not as important as Egyptians actually living there. However, none of these points, whatever their position on our continuum, can be ignored. Instead, each one provides a small piece to a puzzle we are slowly fitting together. We are beginning to see that every type of imaginable contact and interaction between the two culturally distinct areas occurred. Taken together, we have a great deal of evidence for regular Egyptian dealings in the Levant. It is apparent that there were many Middle Kingdom trade and military expeditions to Syria-Canaan, and it even seems likely that some officials and merchants spent a great deal of time there. A significant number of Egyptians had the opportunity to learn of and be influenced by Asiatic culture. This impact is heightened when it is realized that most of the officials, tradesmen and military leaders were elite and semi-elite members of Egyptian society.

A Mixed Presence in the Sinai

We also find strong evidence for an Egyptian presence in the Sinai. Janine Bourriau paints a convincing picture, demonstrating that Egyptian style pottery was made in the Sinai, at Serabit el-Khadim, during the Middle Kingdom.[58] The pottery is a mix of Egyptian-made pottery from Egypt and Egyptian-made pottery from the Sinai, suggesting that Egyptian potters accompanied the expedition.[59] This indicates that the encampments at Serabit el-Khadim were huge undertakings, involving a large number of Egyptians. Such an idea is augmented by the fact that a 12th Dynasty Egyptian temple was built at Serabit el-Khadim.[60] The

[56] Garstang, *El Arábah,* pls. IV-V; Mumford, "Syria/Palestine," 338; Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 143.

[57] Autobiography of Weni, lines 13-32 as in *Urk*. I, 101-05.

[58] Bourriau, "Observations on the pottery of Serabit el-Khadim," 24.

[59] Bourriau, "Observations on the pottery of Serabit el-Khadim," 21.

[60] Beit-Arieh, "Canaanites and Egyptians at Serabit el-Khadim," 57; Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägypten,* 222.

temple must have been attended to by Egyptian priests, and at least one expedition leader was a "controller of priests," signifying that a number of the elite were involved in these expeditions.[61] Egyptians were present at Serabit el-Khadim expeditions under the rule of seven 12th Dynasty rulers, with Amenemhat III sending at least 18.[62] Large expeditions went to other Sinai mines as well, such as those at Wadi Maghara, Wadi Nasb, and Wadi Kharit.[63] At Wadi Maghara, we know of at least six expeditions sent during the reign of Amenemhat III alone, one of which comprised 734 men.[64] We are certain of several more expeditions sent by following Middle Kingdom rulers.

Monuments at both Serabit el-Khadim and Wadi Maghara mention Asiatics laboring in Egyptian mining camps in the Western Sinai in the late 12th Dynasty.[65] Additionally, a Proto-Sinaitic inscription, indicating a Semitic presence, has been found in the temple of Serabit el-Khadim and elsewhere in the camp.[66] Since large numbers of Egyptians were involved in these expeditions, it is important to note that working alongside them was a sizable host of Asiatics – there is even some evidence which suggests that Asiatic royalty was present[67] – seemingly in a peaceful and prosperous cooperation. It is inevitable that there was a significant amount of cross-cultural contact in such expeditions.[68] The Sinai was an area where expedition leaders, priests, workers and craftsmen had prolonged and substantial interaction with Asiatics.

The Levantine contact we have evaluated stems from fringe areas (*e.g.* Sinai), through the heartland (*e.g.* Jerusalem, Hazor, Megiddo, Ebla, *etc.*), to the coastal plains (*e.g.* Byblos, Ugarit, *etc.*) of the Levant. To be sure this does not represent a homogenous culture, but it does represent substantial contact with Semitic groups sustained over an extensive period of time.

[61] Sinai Inscription 90. See Černý, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions at Sinai,* 97-99. Line one of the inscription contains the individual's titles, including being "controller of priests." See the textual emendation.

[62] Černý, *et al.*, plates X-LIV; Mumford, "Serabit el-Khadim," 723. See also Gee "Overlooked Evidence," n. 51 for a detailed list of regnal years and inscriptions for Sinai expeditions of Amenemhat III.

[63] We know of at least one Middle Kingdom expedition to each of the latter two sites. See Mumford, "Serabit el-Khadim," 724. See also Seyfried, *Beitrage zu den Expeditionen des Mittleren Reiches in die Ost-Wüste,* 1-10, 41-55, 155-76.

[64] Gardiner, *et al.*, *Inscriptions of Sinai II*, 66-67, pl. X; Mumford and Parcak, "Pharaonic ventures into South Sinai," 89, n. 40; Mumford, "Wadi Maghara."

[65] Weinsten, "Egyptian Relations," 11.

[66] Beit-Arieh, "Canaanites and Egyptians at Serabit el-Khadim," 57.

[67] Hallo and Simpson, *The Ancient Near East, a History*, 248.

[68] A conclusion independently reached by Oren, "The 'Kingdom of Sharuhen,' and the Hyksos Kingdom," 275.

Evidence for a Semitic Presence in Egypt

As crucial as an Egyptian presence in the Levant is to our topic, it is even more important to examine the possibility of a Semitic presence in Egypt. If there were many Levantine peoples living within Egypt itself, the number of people who could be influenced by them increases exponentially. As we shall see, there is solid evidence for the presence of Asiatics within Egypt and a great deal of interaction with them.

Archeological Witnesses of Contact

Undoubtedly, the most preponderant archaeological testimony of Levantine influence in Egypt comes from Tell el-Dab'a, or ancient Avaris. The Asiatic population and influence there was large enough that it is worthy of greater consideration than can be presented in this context. Nevertheless, here we must come to some understanding of what happened at Avaris.

The town began as a Herakleopolitan settlement in the 10th Dynasty.[69] Real expansion began early in the 12th Dynasty, when various features arose which indicate that the growth came from people of urban northern Levantine origin, specifically the Syro-Phoenician area.[70] Moreover, it is clear that these inhabitants of Levantine origin maintained a great deal of contact with their homeland, probably via trade. Further light is shed when it is realized that the lower-class graves of the site are Egyptian, while the upper-class graves are Levantine.[71] Many of the Asiatic inhabitants were the educated elite, and would certainly carry with them a cultural weight and influence. Eventually this weight and influence made them the ruling class.

By the mid 12th Dynasty there was a huge influx of people. The town began to be covered by so called "middle-hall" houses, typical of northeast Syria.[72] 50% of the males received warrior burials, and 80% of the weapons within these burials were of Asiatic origin.[73] This suggests that a mercenary presence was a significant part of Avaris. Such an idea matches well with inscriptions presented below that describe an Asiatic presence in the Egyptian king's army. Certainly some amount of shoulder rubbing occurred in this context. A limited amount of evidence also exists for

[69] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 90.

[70] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 98; Bietak, "Canaanites in the Eastern Nile Delta," 43.

[71] Bietak, "Canaanites in the Eastern Nile Delta," 50.

[72] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 97.

[73] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 99.

some kind of contact, most likely a trading connection, with Ebla.[74]

During the early 13th Dynasty Avaris tripled in size. The remains point towards this growth being predominantly Levantine, though not exclusively. The evidence comes from household styles, wares, and burial customs, such as two donkey burials.[75] This is certainly not an Egyptian practice, nor is it a custom of the southern Levant. It seems to stem from the northern Levant, and has Mesopotamian connections,[76] though almost certainly indirectly.[77]

During this period metalworking in Avaris reached a high point, both technologically and quantitatively, not matched elsewhere in Egypt.[78] Much of the metalworking was associated with shipbuilding, attesting to the great amount of shipping and trading which subjected this area to unprecedented amounts of international contact. Prestige would have accompanied this development.

Evidence points to a growing significant contact with Cyprus, and even with Minoan settlements,[79] extending a greater opportunity for a foreign influence. While Avaris seems to have been most heavily populated by Asiatics, there undoubtedly was a significant number of Egyptians in the city as well. The cultural influence presumably flowed both ways. The Asiatics of Avaris were becoming more and more Egyptianized,[80] and the Egyptians who lived with them were experiencing a great deal of Levantine culture. At one point an Egyptian and a Levantine temple operated in the same neighborhood simultaneously.[81]

A good deal of contact also occurred at Tell el-Maskhuta, a strategic site that guarded the land-based trade routes into the Delta, leading to Avaris. Late 12th and early 13th Dynasty Asiatic cooking pots were found at the site.[82] Like

[74] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 100. This evidence consists of statues of the last queen of the 12th Dynasty found next to a statue of an Eblaite king, and a statue found with a composition unknown in Egypt, but attested in Ebla.

[75] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 103.

[76] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 103.

[77] Leemans, "The Trade Relations of Babylonia."

[78] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 105.

[79] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 94. Also, Walberg, "A Gold Pendant from Tel el-Dab'a;" Walberg, "The finds at Tel el-Dab'a and Middle Minoan Chronology;" Walberg, "The Date and Origin of the Kamares Cup from Tel el-Dab'a"; and Marinatos, "The Tel el-Dab'a paintings: A Study in Pictorial Tradition."

[80] Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*; Holladay, "Tell el-Maskhuta," 63; Bietak, "Egypt and Canaan During the Middle Bronze Age," 89.

[81] Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 105-08.

[82] Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 66.

Avaris, the site contained mud-brick tombs with donkey burials and ceramics. One of these tombs contained a scarab heirloom bearing the name of a 13th Dynasty monarch, Sobekhotep IV, *c.* 1740-1730 BCE.[83] Holladay labeled these inhabitants "Egyptian based 'Asiatics'."[84] The Maskhuta material demonstrates a steady movement of Asiatics into Egypt during the end of the 12th Dynasty and early into the 13th.[85] During the 13th Dynasty, the number of Asiatics in the settlement swelled. The donor culture was undoubtedly Northern or Central Syria, as opposed to Canaanite.[86] Egyptians from all over Egypt who wanted access to trading via land routes or the Red Sea would have associated with Asiatic counterparts in Tel el-Maskhuta. For those involved in trade, Maskhuta and Avaris were ancient melting pots. As Daphna Ben-Tor demonstrates in this volume, the inhabitants of Avaris had a large impact on the amount of contact with the Levant, both in and out of Egypt.

A similarly mixed Semitic and Egyptian culture, most likely closely linked with Avaris, has left archeological evidence in Tell Hanun, Tell el-Habwe, Farasha, Tell Ku'a, Ghita, Inshas and Tell el-Yahudiya, all in the eastern Delta.[87] While none of these sites were as big as Tell el-Dab'a, the sheer number indicates that there was a substantial enough presence of Asiatics in the eastern Delta that a cross-cultural exchange was inevitable. It has been convincingly demonstrated that Tell el-Dab'a was a port of trade in the 12th Dynasty and later.[88] As such, it, and its sister cities from around the area, would have certainly brought in a substantial amount of contact with other trading areas,[89] especially the coastal cities of the Levantine seaboard.

Additionally, signs of a substantial Levantine trade presence in Egypt comes from Lahun. There Asiatic weights actually outnumber Egyptian ones.[90] Also, a large and rich collection of Asiatic gold and silver material has been found in caskets underneath the temple of Montu at Tod.[91] These two sites, in central and far southern Egypt respectively, indicate that the Levantine presence was not whol-

[83] Holladay, "The Eastern Nile Delta," 197.

[84] Holladay, "Tell el-Maskhuta," 146.

[85] Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 66.

[86] Holladay, "The Eastern Nile Delta," 201.

[87] Bietak, "Egypt and Canaan During the Middle Bronze Age," 29.

[88] Holladay, "The Eastern Nile Delta," 201. See also Bietak, "Canaanites in the Eastern Nile Delta," 43.

[89] Holladay, "The Eastern Nile Delta," 209.

[90] Callender, "The Middle Kingdom Renaissance," 178.

[91] Maxwell-Hyslop, "A Note on the Anatolia Connections of the Tod Treasures"; Pierrat, "A propos de la date et de l'origine du tresor de Tod"; also Callender, "The Middle Kingdom Renaissance," 178.

ly confined to the Delta. Finds of Levantine influence in metalworking and Levantine style toggle pins, textiles, and spindles in both foreign and Egyptian contexts within Egypt attest to the presence and adoption of Levantine cultural elements within Egypt.[92]

Thus we see that the archeological evidence points towards a strong presence of Levantine people in the Delta, with some contact penetrating further into Egypt. The negative impression of the Hyksos which prevailed in later times does not seem to exist during the Middle Kingdom. Instead, it appears that there were positive relations between the Residence and the useful trading class of Avaris and her sister cities. Surely this strong and positive Levantine presence in the Delta afforded the opportunity for much contact and cultural flow.

Monumental Inscriptions

The texts on monuments dated to the Middle Kingdom also inform of features of an Asiatic presence in Egypt. The Hatnub quarry inscriptions retell how Nehry and his two sons, Kay and Thutnakht, who probably lived during the transition from the 11th to the 12th Dynasty, were fighting the king in some kind of revolt or civil war. For our purposes, the important reference comes from Kay's inscription, in which he describes fighting a coalition that included both the king's forces and Asiatics.[93] This indicates that there was an alliance between Egypt and some Asiatics at this time, including an Asiatic military or mercenary presence in Egypt. The idea should be coupled with the high number of warrior graves at Avaris as outlined above. Undoubtedly there was a strong mercenary corps formed of Asiatics. The importance of this contact is enhanced when we remember that during the Middle Kingdom the military leaders were not career military men. The elite at this time served as military, bureaucratic, scribal, and religious leaders. Thus, contact with military leaders was contact with people of political and social influence.

A monumentalization of the day book of Amenemhat II reports of a campaign into the Levant that brought back 1,554 prisoners of war.[94] Such booty evokes images of a kingdom exerting a powerful presence in the Levant, though perhaps only sporadically.[95] Moreover, this

92 Sparks, "Canaan in Egypt," 32, 41, 43-44.

93 Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 73-74.

94 Málek and Quirke, "Memphis, 1991: Epigraphy," 14; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 78-79; Altenmüller and Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis"; Kitchen, *On the Reliability of the Old Testament,* 61.

95 Farag, "Un inscription memphite de la XII dynastie"; Cohen, *Canaanites, Chrono-*

large number of people afterwards resided in Egypt and afforded the opportunity for some type of cultural exchange.[96] The same text also records Canaanite rulers providing individuals (1,002 of them) and substantial other goods as tribute to the Egyptian court.[97] It further lists goods that came from Asia as a result of commercial enterprise, including 65 Asiatics.[98] Additionally, the well-known Beni Hasan tomb of Khnumhotep II not only shows pictures of Semitic tradesmen in Egypt, but has an accompanying text that tells us of 37 Asiatics coming to Egypt for trade, under the leadership of Abi-sha, an obviously Semitic name.[99] All of these events point towards both formal relations with Asiatic states and the presence of individuals in Egypt who brought a foreign culture with them.

A recent discovery casts further light on an Asiatic presence in Egypt. Two inscriptions have been found in Wadi el-Hol, deep in southern Egypt, which are described as the earliest Semitic alphabetic inscriptions (at this stage they cannot be classified as proto-Canaanite or proto-Sinaitic, we do not know how they fit into other language branches).[100] This indicates a literate Asiatic presence in the area. In the same wadi another inscription has been found which refers to a certain general Bebi, "general of the Asiatics."[101] John Darnell has identified the determinative accompanying this inscription as indicating the presence of families.[102] These inscriptions are likely the result of a substantial group of literate traders and/or guards/mercenaries who traversed this southern Wadi during their journeys. This surprising new evidence leads us to conclude that within the confines of her boundaries, Egypt's wealthy citizens were welcoming and interacting with a group of literate and wealthy Asiatics. These foreigners understood

logies, and Connections, 42.

96 Posener, "Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe dynasties."

97 Malek and Quirke, "Memphis, 1991: Epigraphy"; Altenmüller and Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis"; Posener, "Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe dynasties," 151-55; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 61.

98 Malek and Quirke, "Memphis, 1991: Epigraphy"; Altenmüller and Moussa, "Die Inschrift Amenemhets II aus dem Ptah-Tempel von Memphis"; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 79; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 61.

99 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, 185-86; Goedicke, "Abi-Sha(i)'s Representation in Beni Hasan"; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens*, 41-42; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 61; and Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 187.

100 Feldman, "Not as Simple as A-B-C," 12.

101 Feldman, "Not as Simple as A-B-C," 12.

102 Presentation by Bruce Zuckerman at the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures at UCLA on October 18, 2000.

Egyptian writing well enough to use it and adapt it to their own language. This erudition would have been impressive to literate Egyptians.

Other Textual Evidence

We have several bits of textual testimony that help us understand the larger picture of Asiatics in Egypt. One of these is the Prophecy of Neferti. This prophecy refers to Asiatics traveling in Egypt with their swords, going about terrorizing and plundering the local population. While the propagandist nature of this document demands that we view such statements with a grain of salt, the kernel of truth upon which they were probably based was the presence of Asiatics. Later, the prophecy speaks again of Asiatics, saying that they have come down to Egypt and that fortifications had failed to keep them out. Whatver the ideology behind the text, it provides at least a partial view of events of the day.[103]

Both the Teachings of Amenemhat and the Prophecy of Neferti make reference to Amenemhat II having to deal with a large Asiatic (*ʿ3mw*) population within Egypt.[104] However, it is unlikely that the entire population was expelled, leading to the conclusion that from its beginnings the Middle Kingdom contained an Asiatic population.[105]

Papyrus Brooklyn (P. Brooklyn 35.1446) contains crucial information for understanding the number of Semitic people in Egypt during the 13th Dynasty. This document, probably coming from Thebes, contains a ledger listing all the names of the servants on a particular Egyptian estate. Over forty (56%) are labeled as Asiatics and carry Northwest Semitic names.[106] One of these was a tutor, a situation which demands a certain amount of intellectual influence. With over forty Semitic slaves on an estate in Upper Egypt, the number of slaves throughout the country, especially in the Delta area, must have been high indeed.[107]

Hayes believes that there was a considerable number of Syro-Canaanites in the service of Egyptian nobility throughout Egypt.[108] While more evidence of Egyptian campaigns entailing prisoners of war has come to light since Hayes

[103] Independently concluded by Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 58-59.

[104] Instruction of Amenemhat col. 3, lines 1-5, as in Volten, *Zwei altägyptische politische Schriften*; and P. Leningrad 1116B, lines 33, 61-63, as in Helck, *Die Prophezeihung des Nfr.tj.*

[105] P. Lenningrad 1116B, lines 33, 61.

[106] Posener, "Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe dynasties"; Albright, "Northwest-Semitic Names"; Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*.

[107] Through an independent assessment Hoffmeier came to this same conclusion. See Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 61.

[108] Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom,* 99.

published his conclusions, it is still difficult to account for the amount of Asiatic slaves in Egypt suggested by Papyrus Brooklyn. Hayes has suggested, echoed by Hornung,[109] that there was "a brisk trade in Asiatic slaves carried on by the Asiatics themselves, with Egypt."[110] This rings an according note with the Joseph story in Genesis. Of course there is a great amount of disagreement upon this point.[111] Whether or not there was a slave trade outside of prisoners of war, undoubtedly there were a large number of Levantine slaves within Egypt, some of them in a position to impart intellectual influence.

Documents from Kahun mention a military officer "in charge of the Asiatic troops," and a "scribe of the Asiatics."[112] This description matches well with the information gained from the Wadi el-Hol inscription. From other sources we know of Semites achieving roles such as craftsmen, butler, or even chancellor.[113] Among these slaves we know of one chieftan.[114]

There is a significant number of other papyri that bear upon the subject. Of these Hoffmeier writes:

> Other papyri – such as Papyrus London UC XL.I and the Papyri Berol 10002, 10004, 10021, 10034, 10047, 10050, 10055, 10066, 10111, 10228, and 10323 – point to a significant number of Asiatics (*ʿ3m*[*w*]). While these remain largely unpublished, Ulrich Luft has begun a thorough investigation of these sources. Some of the professions associated with these Asiatics are singers, dancers, temple workers and doorkeepers, couriers, corvee laborers, and mining-expedition workers. While most of them bore Semitic names, others had good Egyptian names like Senusert, but were prefixed by *ʿ3m*, indicating their foreign origin despite the Egyptian name.[115]

To summarize, there is a considerable amount of evidence for a substantial Asiatic presence within Egypt. Traders and commercial enterprisers were present, slaves seem to have existed in large numbers, and there was a large group who had taken up residence in the Delta. While we would be wrong to

[109] Hornung, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 61, writes "we can distinguish a brisk trade in slaves in this period; there were not enough military undertakings to explain the ever-growing number of Asiatic slaves in Egypt."

[110] Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom,* 99.

[111] For summaries, see Bakir, *Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt*; and Loprieno, "Slaves."

[112] Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 155.

[113] See Posener, "Les Asiatiques en Égypte sous les XIIe et XIIIe dynasties," 154-55; Kitchen, "Early Canaanites in Rio de Janeiro," 635-39; and Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals,* 78-85.

[114] Wreszinski, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus dem Königliche Hofmuseum in Wien*, 27.

[115] Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 62.

assume that many of these Asiatics were considered elite, we would also be wrong to believe that they could not have influenced the upper-class in Egypt. Certainly many of the commercial ventures involved Egyptian elite. As suggested by the tutor mentioned in the Brooklyn Papyrus, some Egyptian elite may even have been educated by Semitic slaves. Furthermore, as some Asiatics were working in the temple, they undoubtedly had regular contact with literate priests. Hence, there was more than ample opportunity for a cultural influence on an intellectual level to have taken place. This idea is strengthened when we realize that among the Asiatics, "certain strong personalities had already ascended to the office of kingship by early Dynasty 13."[116] This idea is augmented when it is realized that Hetepibra, a king of the early 13th Dynasty, carried the epithet "Son of the Asiatic."[117]

None of this is to suggest that Egypt was not the dominant culture in her contact with the Levant. There can be little doubt that her northern neighbors adopted far more of Egyptian culture than Egypt did of theirs. Further, it is equally certain that the Asiatics within Egypt were more heavily influenced by Egyptian culture than Egyptians were by Levantine culture. Such a dominant position does not, however, mean that Egypt was immune to cultural influence. This is never the case. Culture is a diffusive element. It is inevitable that as the Egyptians were affecting those around them, they were in turn influenced to some degree. Likewise, it is inescapable that as the opportunity for contacts increased, the influence also increased. The survey presented above clearly illustrates that the contact between these two peoples was more substantial than we have generally thought. It follows, then, that the cultural diffusion was also greater than we have heretofore surmised.

Literary Evidence for an Asiatic Intellectual Influence

Now that we have seen that Egyptians, both at home and abroad, had ample opportunity to partake of a cultural exchange with Levantine peoples, we examine a specific piece of literature for just that type of influence. One of the Middle Kingdom's most famous tales, The Shipwrecked Sailor, bears what may be the footprint of a Levantine influence while it simultaneously represents what may be the highest literary achievement of the Middle

[116] Hornung, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 71. He believes that these rulers, such as Khendjer and another actually called Asiatic, were probably able to "wrest the kingship for themselves as military leaders."

[117] Matthiae, "Relations Between Ebla and Egypt," 419-20.

Kingdom.[118] This tale exhibits a number of elements that are unusual for Middle Kingdom Egyptian literature. While it is possible that there are a dozen oddities in the tale for a dozen different reasons, it is more likely that one or two concepts would cause all of these oddities. I suggest that Levantine influence could account for many of the unusual features we find in The Shipwrecked Sailor, and thus such posited influence becomes a most likely scenario.

Repetition

Perhaps the most salient foreign feature is the use of repetition. While the "frame story" nature of the narrative may influence the use of repetition, it cannot explain its pervasiveness. As the sailor recounts his tale he informs his lord that he had gone to sea

> in a ship of a hundred and twenty cubits in length and forty cubits in width. One hundred and twenty sailors were in it from the pick of Egypt. They looked at the sky, they looked at the land, their hearts were stouter than lions. They could foretell a storm before it came, a tempest before it broke.[119]

Later in the story, when recounting his conversation with the fabulous snake, he repeats word for word his description of the ship and crew.[120] Such repetition is used frequently in the tale, in lengthy passages such as this, or in small ways, such as when the sailor tells his officer of the bounty of the land, replicating the exact words and signs used when the snake described to him the abundance of the island (*nn ntt nn st m h̠nw=f*),[121] or in the question the snake asks the Sailor twice *(n-m ỉn tw n-m ỉn tw nḏs*).[122]

While this type of word-for-word narrative repetition is not typically used in Egyptian literature, it is a mainstay of Mesopotamian and Syro-Palestinian writings. Not only did these writings contain such precise repetitions, but they also usually included small variations in the first or last sections of

118 Baines, "Interpreting the Story of the Shipwrecked Sailor"; Bryan, "The Hero of the Shipwrecked Sailor"; Loprieno, "The Sign of Literature in the Shipwrecked Sailor"; Muhlestein, "The Shipwrecked Sailor as Veiled Criticism." Rendsburg, "Literary Devices," notes many oft overlooked literary devices very cleverly employed by the author of the tale, such as consistent alliteration (both visual via the signs and audible via the phonemes), parallelistic patterns, unusual uses of rubrics, *etc.*

119 Blackman, *Middle Egyptian Stories: Part 1,* "The Shipwrecked Sailor," lines 25-30; Golenischeff, *Les papyrus hieratiques No. 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'ermitage impérial a St. Petersbourg*; De Buck, *Egyptian Readingbook*, 100-05. All of the author's translations are taken from these sources.

120 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," lines 90-100.

121 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," line 52 and repeated in line 115.

122 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," line 70 and repeated in line 84.

the repetitions.[123] This is also mirrored in the Shipwrecked Sailor, where we find that the lines before and after lengthy identical repetitions are similar, yet contain some small variations, such as the sailor telling the snake he sailed forth on a mission (*wpwt*),[124] something he did not tell the officer when he began the story.[125]

Comparing the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor to any other piece of literature is difficult, because there is very little in the way of contemporary literature. Outside of Egypt there are only a few pieces of true literature[126] from this time period, such as the Epic of Gilgamesh,[127] Atra-Hasis, the Theogony of Dunnu and probably the mythic cycle of Ba'al and 'Anat.[128] While this presents a handicap for understanding foreign influence, it is a handicap with which we must live until more texts come to light. One manner in which we can deal with this dilemma is by examining when the type of repetition we are investigating surfaces in Egyptian texts. It is not fully realized until the Late Period. We do have a large corpus of texts to use as comparison that were created long before the Late Period. These can be found in Levantine literature, from a short time after the composition of the Shipwrecked Sailor, and from Hebrew sources, which are composed quite some time after our tale, but significantly before Egypt adopts the mechanism. Some of the Levantine literature we will be examining was likely composed during the Middle Kingdom or earlier, but the earliest copies come from the 16th and 15th centuries. While, because of the time gap, these sources do not provide perfect comparisons, they do contain typical Semitic literary forms. Because the repetition in these Semitic cultures is so similar

123 Rendsburg, "Literary Devices," 14-18, especially 14 and 16.

124 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," line 90.

125 Rendsburg, "Literary Devices," 14.

126 Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature."

127 Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 42-47, argues that it is during the Old Babylonian Period (roughly contemporary with the Middle Kingdom) that the Epic of Gilgamesh becomes an integrated whole. This epic may actually also represent borrowing from the Levant via Amorites. See Lambert, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story."

128 Views of the date of the composition of the cycle range from the third millennium down to mid-second millennium BCE, with the balance perhaps tilting a little to the earlier side. For a summary see Smith, *The Ugaritic Ba'al Cycle*, 29-31; Cross, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic*, 113, believes that the epic "dates in terms of its earliest oral forms no later than the Middle Bronze Age (1800-1500 B.C.)." See also Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim"; Wyatt, *Religious Texts From Ugarit*, 35; and Albright, "Specimens of Late Ugaritic Prose," 36 and n. 3. For a view that the origins are later, see Coogan, *Stories from Ancient Canaan*, 81; Gibson, "The Mythological Texts," 193-99, completely avoids the subject of dating the text.

to that of the Semitic Ba'al Cycle and Epic of Gilgamesh, we stand on fairly firm ground as we make our comparisons.

Robert Alter writes of word-for-word narrative repetition in Semitic sources that "every instruction, every prediction, every reported action had to be repeated word for word in an inexorable literalism as it was obeyed, fulfilled , or reported to another party."[129] This repetition almost always took place in a command/fulfillment, prophecy/fulfillment, or command/report formula. These formats consisted of a prophecy of an event, or a command to execute an event, and then the narrative telling of the fulfillment of the command or prophecy couched in very similar, largely identical language. Canaanite,[130] Mesopotamian[131] and Biblical[132] literature abound with examples of this device (see below). As common as this literary device was with her Near Eastern neighbors, Egyptian literature from this era is largely bereft of the technique. In the ten years I have been researching the topic and discussing it with my Egyptology colleagues, I often find Egyptologists insisting that Egyptians of the time used repetition. Those with extensive background in Semitic literature claim this less. It is not that Egyptian literature never repeats things, the point is that the *style/form* of repetition present in the Shipwrecked Sailor is unusual in Egypt but not among her Levantine neighbors. It is not repetition itself that is the issue here, but the form of that repetition.

There *is* a kind of repetition employed in Egyptian sources, but it *is not* the type of which we are speaking. The repetition found in the Pyramid and Coffin Texts could be termed a type of "liturgical (or litanical) repetition," though the difference is as much one of form as genre. For example, in Utter-

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129 Alter, *The Art of Biblical Narrative*, 88-113. He discusses in detail the device of repetition. Also see Long, "Framing Repetitions in Biblical Historiography"; and Muhlestein, *The Use of the Palm of the Hand in the Rituals of the Tabernacle and Temple of Solomon*, 67-68.

130 See the command of *Yam* to his messengers and its fulfillment in "Ba'al and Yam," a Ugaritic myth in Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 40-42, and the commands of El to Keret and Keret's fulfillment of those commands, 83-89. There are many other examples available in Canaanite literature.

131 For one of many examples of this type of literature in Mesopotamian sources, see the twice commanded instructions of how to snare Enkidu by use of a harlot, and the fulfillment of this command in Kovacs, "The Epic of Gilgamesh," tablet I, columns iii-iv.

132 See Joshua 3:13-15; Exodus 25:10-20, Exodus 37:1-9 (KJV). These are only three of many examples.

ance 35 of the Pyramid Texts, we read "Your purification is the purification of Horus. Your purification is the purification of Seth. Your purification is the purification of Thoth."[133] This has more of an air of parallelism about it than narrative repetition.[134] Likewise, a phrase such as "recite four times,"[135] does not constitute true repetition, but instead is a marker of ritual or litany.[136]

The other type of repetition from the Pyramid and Coffin Texts also comes closer to being parallelism than true repetition. We can see this type in Utterance 217: "O Seth and Nephthys, go and proclaim to the gods of Upper Egypt and their akhs . . ." A few stanzas later we read "O Osiris and Isis, go and proclaim to the gods of Lower Egypt and their akhs . . ." Again, in another few stanzas: "O Thoth, go and proclaim to the western gods and their akhs . . ." and so on throughout this and other utterances. This is not a word-for-word repetition in the tradition of Canaanite and Mesopotamian literature, but instead a parallelistic address to different gods.

Egyptian literature also invokes a formulaic repetition, such as when Weni often notes that he had found a favorable place in the king's heart "above any of his officials, above any of his nobles, above any of his servants."[137] This is not a narrative repetition, but rather a formula repeatedly used to indicate the same kind of thing.

The Prophecy of Neferti repeats the phrase "I show you the land in turmoil," a few times.[138] The repetition serves as an introductory or formulaic phrase. Since it also appears in the Complaints of Khakhepereseneb, it may also be a common idiomatic expression.

In the Admonitions of Ipuwer the phrase "It is, however, good . . ." appears several times. This repetition is employed as an antithetical parallel pair, and thus serves a poetic function. Again it is very different from that found in the Shipwrecked Sailor and Levantine sources.

Indeed, contrasting these kinds of typical Egyptian "repetitions" with Semitic sources will clearly demonstrate the differences. We read in the story of Keret:[139]

133 PT, 35.

134 Of course parallelism includes an element of repetition, but not what is meant by the near-technical-term "repetition" as employed in Semitic studies. It is a different form, within the same and different genres. See Berlin, *The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism*.

135 As in PT, 46.

136 Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 69; Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, 51-56; Turner, *From Ritual to Theater,* 82.

137 *Urk*. I, 101-05.

138 P.Lenningrad 1116B, as in Helck, *Die Prophezeihung des Nfr. tj*.

139 The setting of the text seems to be mid-second millenium BCE, the written

> Pour wine [into] a vessel of silver, honey into a vessel of gold. Go up on to the tower and mount the shoulder of the wall; lift up your hands (to) heaven (and) sacrifice to the bull El your father, make Baal to come down with your sacrifice, the son of Dagon with your game. Then let Keret come down from the roof; let him make ready corn for the city . . . he did pour wine into a vessel of silver, honey into a vessel of gold, and he did go up on to the tower, did mount the shoulder of the wall; he did lift up his hands to heaven (and) did sacrifice to the bull El his father, he did make [Baal] to come down with his sacrifice, the son of Dagon [with] his game. Keret did come down [from] the roof; he did make ready corn for the city . . .[140]

One more example, this one from Mesopotamia, will suffice for our purposes:

> Let him [Gilgamesh] give thee a harlot-lass. Take (her) with thee; . . . when he waters the beasts at the watering-place, she shall pull off her clothing, laying bare her ripeness. As soon as he sees her, he will draw near to her. Reject him will his beasts that grew up on the steppe! . . . Gilgamesh says to him, to the hunter: 'Go, my hunter, take with thee a harlot-lass. When he waters the beasts at the watering-place, she shall pull off her clothing, laying bare her ripeness. As soon as he sees her, he will draw near to her. Reject him will his beasts that grew up on his steppe!'[141]

Even a precursory reading reveals the difference between the two types of repetitions. One entails the repetition of ideas and phrases, the other an exact or near-exact repetition of an extended action. Both types may stem from an oral tradition (Semitic sources possess both types of repetition in markedly oral compositions), but the orality is manifest in two different forms, forms which are a matter of tradition. Contrastingly, there is nothing in the Shipwrecked Sailor that would mark it as more of an oral composition than its contemporary pieces of Egyptian literature. While it is possible that the repetitive elements of the Shipwrecked Sailor are elements of an oral tradition, we must then ask why are these elements so lacking in comparative Middle Kingdom literature?

Intense studies of the texts reveal the contrast between the literature of Egypt and that of her neighbors. A careful reading, with the specific intent of studying the phenomenon of repetition, of many Pyra-

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version was probably first recorded in the fifteenth century BCE. See Greenstein, "Kirta," 9.

140 "Ba'al and Yam," an Ugaritic myth in Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 84-87.

141 Kovacs, "The Epic of Gilgamesh," tablet I. The Epic of Gilgamesh has fragments which have been dated to mid or early second millennium BCE, the same time period as the Shipwrecked Sailor. See Speiser, "The Epic of Gilgamesh," 40.

mid Texts, Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead, wisdom texts, hymns, autobiographies, and fictive pieces of literature from the Middle and New Kingdoms, including over 690 compositions, reveals no examples of the type of repetition which we are discussing, except in one case (0.1%), namely the Shipwrecked Sailor. If we were to limit the search to only the fictive tales, only one out of ten (or 10%) exhibit the investigated feature.

In fully preserved Egyptian tales, there is a striking lack of repetition. For example, when in The Contendings of Horus and Seth, Seth reports a conversation with Isis that has already been presented to the reader, illustratively he does not use the type of phrasing or repetition that fits with the Semitic model. Were this a Semitic tale, it undoubtedly would have employed word-for-word narrative repetition.

Similarly, Papyrus Westcar, roughly contemporary with the Shipwrecked Sailor, offers several pregnant opportunities for repetition. In the tale of Ubainer, the twice prepared pavilion and the frequent retelling of episodes, would, in a Semitic source, certainly contain examples of word-for-word repetition. Instead we see the Egyptian author retell the events with a modern Western-like affinity for using different language to recount the same incident. Likewise, in the tale of Sneferu's rowing party, we are first presented with an account of Sneferu's interaction with a lead rower, and then his retelling of that interaction. Again, in a Semitic tale we would expect the entire episode to be repeated in a near-exact fashion, but instead, the only exact repetition is in direct quotes, and not even all of those are precise in their repetition. The story of the birth of the soon-to-be-royal triplets employs some repetition. In each birth the goddesses position themselves similarly, the children are described as having the same appearance, the same prophecy is made of each, and they receive the same blessing of health from Khnum. This very well may be an example of the kind of repetition we are discussing. Rather than a retelling of the same event, which is what we witness in the Shipwrecked Sailor and Levantine literature, we here encounter the same thing happening three separate times. Thus, it seems to be more of a case of the same event happening three different times to three different people who will all fill the same office. Additionally, word-for-word repetitions are also exhibited in the offerings which Khufu presents to the gallant heroes of each tale. These offerings are presented in formulaic fashion, again as a litanical instead of a literary repetition.

It is difficult to know how to classify the repetition demonstrated in the birth of the triplets. We can

judge it best in the context of the rest of the same tale. This repetition is not a retelling of one event, as is typical of Levantine literature, but the telling of three similar events three different times, representing something slightly different. The Westcar text repeatedly retells events or conversations, occasions that would undoubtedly use repetition were it a Semitic tale. However, as noted above, these opportunities are passed up again and again. Such a precise avoidance of repetition throughout the tale suggests that the repetition employed in regards to the birth of the triplets is used to indicate the similarity of their birth and the roles they will fulfill, not as the kind of story telling device we encounter in the Levant. This is a tentative conclusion and must be used with caution.

Convincingly, in the Eloquent Peasant the peasant makes continual references to plumb lines, boats, and scales in his speeches. Yet these references are always phrased differently, never employing exact and extended repetition. On the contrary, the glory of the Peasant seems to be that he can draw from these wonderful images in so many varied ways. This highlights the value the Egyptians put on a style that is the opposite of the type of repetition the Shipwrecked Sailor exhibits. Khakhepereseneb demonstrates this mindset when he complains about repetition. This value has also been noted by Sweeney, who speaks of the tendency of letters from the Ramesside Period avoiding even quoting other letters word for word. Instead they sought to employ lexical variety when referencing that which had already been written.[142] Seemingly then, Egyptian literature preferred lexical variety over repetition, both as stated by Egyptian authors and demonstrated in their texts.

There is one other piece of Middle Kingdom literature that seems to demonstrate repetition, from the fragmentary tale of Neferkara and General Sasenet. The possible repetition is problematic due to breaks in the text. Because the passage of interest concerns reconstructions, I will quote the translation and reconstruction of Stephen Quirke:

> . . . of him by the singing of the singer[s, by the chanting] of the chanters, by the clapping of the per[cussionists, by the flute]-playing of the flautit[s until] the departure of the petitioner of Mennefer [. . .] them [. . .] finishing off.

This passage is followed shortly by

> [. . .] of him, the singing of the singer[s, by the chanting] of the chanters, by the clapping of the percussionists, by the flute-playing of the flautists until the departure of the petitioner of Mennefer without

[142] Sweeney, *Correspondence and Dialogue*, 22-27, 41-43.

them hearing, finish off . . .[143]

The tale is so fragmentary it is impossible to understand the nature of this repetition, and part of the repetition is based on a reconstruction that assumes there is a repetition, thus introducing circular evidence. Because the tale is so fragmentary, we cannot determine the extent to which this tale represents Egyptian literature, and thus it is difficult to know how this tale reflects on the topic of our study. Even if it is another example of narrative repetition in Egyptian literature, it is somewhat anomalous. If we expand the scope of our study to include fragmentary texts such as this one, our corpus grows to about forty texts. Of these, only two exhibit such repetitions, comprising five percent of the corpus. Clearly the use of the feature is anomalous, especially when compared with its consistent, unrelenting usage in Levantine literature. In this literary technique the Shipwrecked Sailor is much more in harmony with the Levantine tradition than the Egyptian.

Nearly a thousand years later the feature finally appears in Egypt. While there are glimpses of its use in The Report of Wenamun, it is really in Demotic literature that we find it coming into its own in Egyptian texts. The tales of Setne Khamwas are heavily laden with the device. But until this period of internationalization, the form remains anomalous in Egyptian literature. There is a direct correlation between the amount of known international influence found within Egypt and the amount the device of repetition is employed in Egyptian literature. The correspondence is too perfect to be coincidence, and must be accounted for when we examine the first use of the device: the Shipwrecked Sailor.

Conversely, I have studied the ten Semitic tales that were either contemporary or near contemporary with the Middle Kingdom, and found examples of repetition in all ten (100%). The balance of the extant evidence is extremely supportive of repetition being a foreign element in Egyptian literature during the era of the Shipwrecked Sailor.

It is highly likely that the author of the Shipwrecked Sailor was influenced by Levantine literature. The imitation is imperfect, for it is unusual to read of the event first and then of its recounting later, but it does seem to be intentional imitation. The foreign device may have been employed only as a natural outcome of Asiatic influence on the scribe,[144] or it may have been

143 Quirke, *Egyptian Literature 1800 BC,* 168-69.

144 Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 206, writes "ob sie vom Verfasser der Erzählung als konkrete Hinweise beabsichtigt waren oder sich eher durch die Orientierung an westasiati-

intended to further veil the underlying theme of the text, and thus further protect its author.[145]

Gnirs has pointed out other repetitive elements that seem to come from West Semitic influence, such as the doubling of action description ("he opened his mouth to me . . . and said to me"), the rephrasing of terms ("fear not, little one, be without fear"), and repeated phrases ("who brought you, who brought you, small one, who brought you").[146] Additionally she has noted the un-Egyptian, but extremely West Semitic feature of raising numbers in parallel sentence constructions, such as "see, you will spend month after month, until you have completed four months on this island."[147]

Rendsburg has noted parallels to Biblical features, which, for the purposes of this article, are limited in comparative use because of the temporal gap, but informative nonetheless. He has recognized the tendency to use exact repetitions in parallel phrases until the last repetition, when a slight variation is introduced. This seemingly Semitic trait is perfectly exhibited in the Shipwrecked Sailor when we read "taken is the mallet, struck is the mooring-post, the prow-rope is put on land" (*šsp ẖrpw ḥwỉ mnỉt ḥꜣtt rdỉ.tỉ ḥr tꜣ*),[148] wherein the last verb is a-typically fronted by the subject.[149] This same device is repeated immediately, "given is praise, adored is god, every man embraces his companion" (*rdỉ ḥknw dwꜣ nṯr sỉ nb ḥr ḥpt snwy=f*).[150] Another Biblical trait is evidenced during the almost unintelligible line that describes how the mast, wave, and sailor were all somehow striking each other (*ỉn ẖt ḥwỉ n=ỉ s*).[151] As Rendsburg illustrates, this fits well within the Biblical tradition of writing about confusing moments with confusing syntax, a type of syntactical onomatopoeia.[152] These parallels with the later Biblical literature are not conclusive by themselves, but they heighten the impression that a Semitic influence is at work in the tale.

Taken together, the different repetitive elements employed in

schen Vorbildern in den Text einschlichen, ist dagegen nicht zu entscheiden."

145 Muhlestein, "The Shipwrecked Sailor," where I argue that the text contains a criticism of the king.

146 Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 204. This repetitive influence would become more apparent in the New Kingdom. Schniedewind, *Society and the Promise to David*, 42-43, who notes this type of three-fold repetition in the Amarna Letters and ties it into a Canaanite/Israelite scribal tradition.

147 Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 205-06.

148 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," lines 3-5. I have not translated this ideomatically to emphasize the change in the original syntax.

149 Rendsburg,"Literary Devices," 22.

150 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," lines 5-6.

151 "The Shipwrecked Sailor," lines 36-37.

152 Rendsburg, "Literary Devices," 22.

this story which are so unusual in Egypt at that time, yet so prevalent in Canaan, form a strong argument for a Levantine influence in the story.

Imaginary Elements

Another aspect of the story that seems to be an Egyptian oddity (for the Middle Kingdom) but is familiar to her Near Eastern neighbors is the amount of imaginary elements in the story. The sailor is washed up on a magical island which does not exist anywhere within the experience of any Egyptian.[153] This contrasts sharply with tales like that of Sinuhe, in which the locations used represent reality. It is similar to the writing of other Near Eastern cultures, such as the residence of Utnapishtim in the Epic of Gilgamesh, which can only be reached after wandering over all lands, crossing difficult mountains and all seas, and then is still not representative of any place in the real world.[154] Additionally, the magical island turned into water when the sailor left.[155] It also possessed Edenic qualities: it was so full of edible vegetation and game that both the sailor and the snake purport that "there is nothing that is not in it." It was a true paradise, something unlike anything found in the earthly realm.

Again, islands are not unheard of in Egyptian literature, and indeed the use of such a magical place here may be the result of the mythical allusions the tale employs. For example, the Coffin Texts abound with the need to successfully navigate waters and their attendant land formations while constantly avoiding all sorts of unearthly dangerous beings. Thus we can either posit that the Shipwrecked Sailor has uniquely taken elements of religious texts and enhanced them in the story – something quite plausible due to the allusions to the divine within the tale – or we can see here another manifestation of the same possible phenomenon of foreign influence. We must also admit that both could be at work here. There is nothing to push us towards either conclusion when we consider this element alone, yet the aggregate proves to be more informative. Only the assumption of foreign influence can account for both of the oddities discussed thus far.

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[153] Wainwright, "Zeberged: the Shipwrecked Sailor's Island," believes that the island of St. John's was the sailor's island. Of course it may only have served as an inspiration for this island, since St. Johns, or Zeberged, does not disappear once one has left it.

[154] See Kovacs, "The Epic of Gilgamesh," tablets X-XI.

[155] Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 202, writes "Nicht nur liegt die Insel inmitten des meeres, sie is sogar Teil des Ozeans selbst: Auch über und unter ihr ist Wasser (85-86), und sie wird selbst wieder zu Wasser, nachdem der Held die Insel verlassen hat (153-154). "

Further imaginary elements are introduced in the presence of the snake. The snake is clearly an unbelievable figure, unlike the common monsters of Egyptian tales, or even the myriad of dangerous snakes in the funerary literature. He is no ordinary or even overly large crocodile or hippo,[156] but a creature of both gigantic dimensions *and* unbelievable composition. In this way he is more similar to the Mesopotamian Humbaba[157] monster, the Ugaritic Yam monster, or to the many monsters of later Greek creation. Additionally, his approach is accompanied by thunder, wood splintering and earth tremors. This seems reminiscent of a typical show of power by Ba'al/Hadad/Teschup.[158] This type of fantastic creature would become more common in the New Kingdom – again, after much more substantial foreign contact – but is unknown in the (admittedly small) corpus of literary texts of the Middle Kingdom.

The composition and manner of approach of the snake may have been so crafted to invoke images of a deity. Indeed, there is no doubt that the snake was divine, and that these elements – such as the gold and lapis lazuli and the manner of approach – are part of the identification process. Nevertheless, contemporary Egyptian writers found ways to identify deities without these fantastic descriptions of animals. An example is the strange description of the appearance of the goddess figure in the Tale of the Herdsman. Here the divine is portrayed as a human-like figure with unusual characteristics (such as the appearance of her skin and hair). The tale does not introduce a fantastic monster like the snake the sailor encounters. While the imaginary elements of the snake are indicative of a divine presence, his appearance is not less anomalous in a *belles lettres* corpus that contained divine manifestations. Funerary literature presents some similarities,[159] yet there is no escaping the fact that the descriptions of such a creature

[156] While the Pyramid Texts do sometimes envisage a giant hippopotamus or lion, or the very large crocodile in Papyrus Westcar, they are always the actual creature in a large size, not one with supernatural powers and non-fleshy composition.

[157] Kovacs, "Epic of Gilgamesh," tablet III.

[158] My conclusions, independently reached, parallel those of Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 203. It should be noted that Egyptian gods are sometimes described as approaching men in this manner in the Pyramid Texts. While the author of the tale may have used this as a further element in identifying the Snake with deity, the duplicitous nature of almost every element in the tale does not make the two connections mutually exclusive. Indeed, with such a consistent employment of duplicitous elements, we should almost expect that an unusual feature would serve two purposes.

[159] Such as in PT 393 or CT VII 252. See also Shupak, "The God from Teman and the Egyptian Sun God," 111-13.

are far outside of the Egyptian norm in this genre. Our ability to find some Egyptian similarity, as stated by Schneider when he convincingly argued for a Levantine origin of the Tale of the Two Brothers, "is the outcome of a chain of sophisticated associations offered by our encyclopedic knowledge about Ancient Egypt, on the assumption that the background of the tale is indeed Egyptian."[160] Again, we must ask if this is another example of an unrelated oddity – an element of Egyptian writing applied in an extreme way in another genre – or if it might find its explanation in foreign influence.

Connections with Levantine Figures

The idea of the surreal snake as an example of foreign influence provides a segue into another possibility of a foreign connection. The case has been made that the snake may have been a representation of the Near Eastern sea/chaos monster corresponding to an aspect of the Canaanite Yam, or the Biblical Leviathan.[161] This is especially likely since there is a well established parallel between Apophis, an Egyptian chaos creature, and Leviathan, an Israelite/Canaanite chaos creature. While there have been some attempts to associate Leviathan with a crocodile or hippopotamus, these have proved to be untenable, and Leviathan has been firmly established as some kind of twisting snake representing chaos.[162] Likewise, Apophis is represented as a snake. Izak Cornelius has demonstrated that stone reliefs found in both Egypt and the Levant depict a god figure that seems to be a combination of Seth and Ba'al fighting a large serpent.[163] Pictured is a Sethian god slaying a serpent, but the garb is that of the Asiatic Ba'al. Both Seth and Ba'al were believed to have carried out the duty of killing the chaos serpent, known as Apophis in Egypt, and Leviathan, or *ltn* in the Levant. Apparently the motif of slaying the chaos serpent was enough of a commonality between the two cultures that at some point a "spilling over" of identity occurred. This syncretistic feature may also have been influenced by Seth's association with foreigners, something that may have led to the establishment of a Seth cult in the eastern Delta, which was populated by Asiatics.[164] At times there was undoubtedly an element of syncretistic mythology between the Egyptian Pantheon and the Semitic

[160] Schneider, "Innovation in Literature," 318.

[161] Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 201, 206.

[162] Day, *God's Conflict With the Dragon and the Sea*, 62-75.

[163] Cornelius, *The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal*, 161-65.

[164] Kemp, "Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period," 157.

in the areas where there was a heavy Semitic population. It was sometime during the Middle Kingdom that Seth became the *interpretation aegyptiaca* of Ba'al and his various versions.[165] The Shipwrecked Sailor may represent one of the early manifestations of this.

Further evidence occurs on cylinder seals and scarabs found in both Egypt and Israel-Palestine with similar depictions.[166] Some of the depictions are clearly of Seth, some clearly of Ba'al, and some are combinations of the two. These iconographic sources confirm that there was indeed a diffusion of ideas between Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian area associated with a snake. While this diffusion is only certain in a later time period, it is likely to have existed for some time before the iconography of the idea was created in significant enough numbers for us to find such remains. It surely existed before the creation of the artifacts we are discussing.[167]

Strikingly, in an Avaris Egyptian palace a cylinder seal has been found in which Ba'al Zephon is shown as Yam (the great snake of the sea) in the role of protecting sailors[168] – exactly the same function that the snake of our tale seems to perform as he protects the shipwrecked sailor. This not only demonstrates a possible connection between the two figures, but it also shows that this Semitic idea was present in Egypt in the same time period that the Shipwrecked Sailor was composed. Since Asiatics were commonly employed as sailors even before this time period[169] their mythology could have easily been tied up with stories of sailing. This very well may explain why a Leviathan/Yam connection may have such a positive counterpart in the Shipwrecked Sailor: at least some Semitic people within Egypt identified Yam with protecting sailors just as the snake ended up caring for the sailor.

In addition, there are textual similarities between the Leviathan/Yam monster and the snake of our tale. Both snakes are of gigantic proportions. Also, the snake of the Shipwrecked Sailor apparently has the ability to breath

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165 Schneider, "Texte über den syrischen Wettergott aus Ägypten," 606-10; Schneider, "Foreign Egypt: Egyptology and the Concept of Cultural Appropriation," 160-61; Schneider, "Innovation in Literature on Behalf of Politics," 316-19.

166 Schneider, "Innovation in Literature on Behalf of Politics," 212-24.

167 Familiarity with the gods of Byblos came as early as the Old Kingdom. See Horn, "Foreign Gods in Ancient Egypt," 37. Horn believes that the Seth/Ba'al connection began with the Hyksos. As we have already seen, the Hyksos contact in the Delta area was firm quite some time before the end of the Middle Kingdom.

168 Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule," 104.

169 Bietak, "The Center of Hyksos Rule"; Bietak examines iconography from the Old Kingdom which shows Asiatic sailors and Asiatic crews.

out fire since he threatens the sailor with being reduced to ashes.[170] The later Biblical Leviathan is described thus:

> out of his mouth proceed flaming torches, sparks of fire escape. Out of his nostrils comes forth smoke, as from a heated and boiling cauldron. His breath kindles coals, and a flame comes forth from his mouth (Job 41:12-13).

Another similarity is their association with the sea. The snake of the tale under study is connected to the sea via his dwelling on an island surrounded by water which will later turn into water. Furthermore, when the sailor met the snake he recounted "I heard a thundering noise and thought 'It is a wave of the sea'."[171] Moreover, while the sailor was brought to the island by a wave of the sea, the snake informs him he was brought there by god, intimating that it was he, the god of the story, via his Yam-like control of the sea, that brought the sailor there.[172] Leviathan is primarily a sea monster, and is associated with the great deep and rivers. The Yam version of this monster is obviously connected with the sea.[173] Likewise, Apophis is often found in the watery chaos during the journey of the sun barque.[174]

These three similarities, size, sea and fire, lend some credence to a connection between the serpent of the Shipwrecked Sailor and the motif of Leviathan and Apophis. Furthermore, Gnirs believes that there are many elements of the Snake's story which are similar to the Ba'al cycle.[175]

Owing to the differing essence of their natures – the Snake of our tale representing order and the cre-

[170] The Ureaus serpent is reported to be able to breath out fire, along with other gods, and even the king. Again this element may have been employed in order to identify the snake with deity. But still, this does not preclude the idea that it is also similar to the Leviathan/Yam monster upon which the creature seems to have been based. In fact, all the more reason for the author to adopt this monster as his model, if it included an aspect which would help in an identification he was trying to create, an identification which he may have wanted to keep behind a thick veil. See Muhlestein, "The Shipwrecked Sailor."

[171] As noted above, thundering and shaking were associated with the approach of Egyptian deities in the Pyramid Texts, but the idea of it sounding like a wave of the sea is unique to our tale, thus enhancing the possibility of a connection with other sea creatures. If the identification with deity was the only desire behind such an approach, then the author would not have introduced this element which is clearly not associated with Egyptian deity, but clearly is with Yam and Leviathan.

[172] Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 205.

[173] Yam is, after all, the god of the Sea.

[174] Hart, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 196. Also, Meeks and Favard-Meeks, *Daily Life of the Egyptian Gods,* 54. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 99-109.

[175] Gnirs, "Die levantinische Herkunft des Schlangengottes," 206-08.

ator, and the Canaanite creatures representing chaos – the snakes do not seem to play the same role, though this is not true of the version of Yam that *protected* sailors. While as early as The Instructions for Merikare we find manifestations of Egyptian belief in a water monster, we also find images which suggest that the creator god could be associated with a great sea creature, and this association seems to most commonly manifest itself when combined with elements of Semitic culture.[176] Even the antithetical associations may still be based on the same image of a gigantic, fantastic snake. This would make the snake a product of foreign influence. Redford has speculated that the snake sounds like serpents from the literature of India, or maybe even Arabic or Greek sources.[177] While this literature is not contemporary, and its authors had less contact with Egypt, the Middle Kingdom author of our tale could easily have encountered fantastic serpents in literature from his contemporary Asiatic neighbors and incorporated the idea of a huge creature into his tale without accompanying that idea with the contextual images the snakes carried in the lending foreign cultures.

These connections with Levantine figures are not enough in themselves to even cause one to speculate about foreign influence, much less to drive one to a conclusion. Yet in the wake of other elements that tend towards Levantine practices, these connections fit further into the puzzle.

Personal Relationships with Deity

Another unusual trait of the story is the personal relationship the sailor develops with the deity-like snake.[178] The snake's question "Who brought you?"[179] implies that the sailor could only have arrived with some kind of supernatural help. The sailor's answer, "I was brought (*ini͗.kwi͗*) to this island by a wave of the sea," indicates that, at least when he answers the snake,[180] he felt he had been "brought" to the island, as opposed to ending up there accidentally. The snake reinforces this by saying the sailor was brought there by a god. The snake cared for the sailor, as if he were one of his lost children. He comforted him, provided for him, and taught

[176] See Shupak, "He Hath Subdued the Water Monster/Crocodile," 79, 87-88.

[177] Redford, "The Shipwrecked Sailor's Snake," 14-15.

[178] Derchain-Urtel, "Die Schlange des 'Schiffbrüchigen'."

[179] Blackman, "The Shipwrecked Sailor," lines 69-70.

[180] He tells the officer that he was placed (*rdi.kwi͗*) on the island, and his wording when answering the snake may have been only to satisfy the snake's question, though it may also be that the snake's question itself taught him something of the nature of his arrival.

him. He presented him with gifts, and refused gifts offered in return. All that he asked in return was that the sailor spread his name abroad, something that a personal devoteé should do. The *pḥ-nṯr* formula – perhaps the phrase which best encapsulates the personal relationship with deity of the New Kingdom, as one can summon deity in some way – is actually represented in The Shipwrecked Sailor, when the snake tells the sailor not to fear, since he had summoned (*pḥ*) him.[181] The textual presentation of personal relationships with deities of the type portrayed in the Shipwrecked Sailor would not appear for hundreds of years in Egypt, but were alive and thriving among her contemporary Asiatic neighbors, such as the relationship which Keret developed with El,[182] or that shown in the Tale of Aqhat,[183] both of which seem to have been composed not long after the Shipwrecked Sailor. For example, upon seeing Keret cry, El descends and asks him what is wrong and how he can help. He then provides that which Keret needs. Danel has a similar experience in the Tale of Aqhat.

Certainly many inhabitants of Egypt felt some type of a personal relationship with deity. But the decorum[184] of presentation of relationships with deity during the Middle Kingdom seems to shun this idea.[185] Decorum dictated that in texts it was the king who had a relationship with deity; all others had a relationship through him. "Direct personal experience of deities is seldom a religious norm"[186] in Middle Kingdom Egypt.

Ankhtifi displays a minimal amount of personal relationship with Horus in claiming he had led him to conquer Edfu, though this was probably inserted as a replacement for a royal decree in the justification of his actions.[187] Even in the Tale of Sinuhe, when Sinuhe feels he has been directed by god, he has no direct relationship with him, he is not even sure which god he refers to. The herdsman in the Tale of the Herdsman has a very non-personal relationship with the (semi?) divine being he encounters, or at least in the portion of the tale we have. As Assmann has written, recognized personal relationships with deity "emerged" in the New Kingdom, and it was during this

181 Gee, "The Earliest Example of the *pḥ-nṯr* ?" 25-27.

182 "Ba'al and Yam," a Ugaritic myth in Gibson, *Canaanite Myths and Legends*, 83-89.

183 Pardee, "The Tale of Aqhat"; Ginsberg, "Tale of Aqhat." This tale is somewhat earlier than Keret, placing it earlier than the 15th century. Greenstein, "Kirta," 9.

184 Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 138.

185 Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety," 80.

186 Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 172.

187 Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety," 89.

time period that

> the human 'heart' and individual history now made their appearance as a new dimension of experiencing divine presence . . . The divine was at work in the life of the individual, and the individual lived in direct contact with the divine.[188]

Assmann may be simplifying the textual evidence, for we may be witnessing a change in decorum as much as anything.[189] Yet we are discussing a literary text, and this text is unusual among its contemporaries in displaying a personal relationship with a divine being. The Shipwrecked Sailor may simply be displaying an extreme lurch in the same direction that Ankhtifi, Sinuhe, and the Herdsman were already going. Yet, the relationship portrayed in this tale demonstrates an affinity for literary traits similar to the Levant, and we must at least consider this possible explanation for this particular literary characteristic. As Baines has said, a literary novelty is either pure innovation, or is a departure from an already existing model.[190] In the case of the Shipwrecked Sailor there are either several pure innovations, or they are (nearly?) all attributable to an existing model, in this case a model that existed in the Levant.

Conclusion

When examining the evidence for foreign influence, only the idea of repetition stands alone as very strong evidence for foreign influence within the tale. Taken together the elements of repetition, imaginary settings, Semitic iconographic connections, and personal relationships with deity form a strong argument for Asiatic influence. There is no other reasonable explanation that can account for the presence of *all* these elements in this story. As stated at the outset of this study, perhaps we are witnessing several unrelated literary aberrations in The Shipwrecked Sailor. Perhaps the author of the tale has merely taken several infantile literary movements from his culture and pushed them to an extreme that had not yet been seen nor would be seen again for a long time to come. Yet, when the hypothesis of foreign influence can account for all of these things in a unified explanation, that hypothesis seems more compelling than the idea of so many unrelated oddities.

Clearly we can see both opportunity for and evidence of Egyptians being intellectually influenced by the Levant. It seems that in the case

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188 Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 168. Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 158, writes that in the case of personal piety "we are not dealing with a basic structure, but rather with a later development that intervened and altered the traditional structure."

189 Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety," 95.

190 Baines, "Practical Religion and Piety," 97.

of The Shipwrecked Sailor, Asiatic elements may have been intentionally employed by the author. For many years the Tale of Sinuhe has been the only "literary" evidence used to help us understand Egypt's foreign relations during the Middle Kingdom. We can now posit that the tale of the Shipwrecked Sailor may contribute equally. We do not learn of gift exchanges or political fugitives, but we learn of a potential Egyptian embrace of a foreign intellectual effort.[191] If this hypothesis is correct, the Shipwrecked Sailor has shed a little more light through our portal of understanding Middle Kingdom foreign relations, and thus allows us to pilot our course of research just a little more accurately.

Abbreviations

CT	Coffin Texts
KJV	King James Version
PT	Pyramid Texts
Urk. I	Sethe, K. *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*. Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums 1. 2nd ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs Buchhandlundung, 1932.

[191] It is impossible to determine the scale of this embrace, but the fact that just one of the elite was so influenced tells us something.

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A View to a Kill: Egypt's Grand Strategy in her Northern Empire

Marcus Müller

Project Qantir/Piramesse (Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim)

Abstract

The paper discusses Egypt's grand strategy in the New Kingdom, focussing on the Near East. Considering that Egypt's safety policy changed dramatically in comparison to previous times, we have the evidence of frequent military campaigns which result in the question of how to deal with conquered territories and how to manage the newly gained influence. I want to show which methods the Egyptians used to keep and extend their control or influence. Thereby I use theoretical approaches such as the ones proposed by Quincy Wright in his book *On War*.

Moreover, the sources enable us to detect political means to avoid constant warfare which would overstrain Egypt's resources. Theoretical approaches help to reconstruct Egypt's grand strategy, showing her political and military aims and the instruments to put them into reality. The results are connected with exemplary strategic models in order to establish a pattern of the grand strategy in the New Kingdom.[1]

I. The Setting

With the advent of the New Kingdom, Egypt develops a completely new approach to her corporate safety policy – a radical change in comparison to earlier times. This results in new political and military aims which in turn require the development of a new grand strategy.

Generally speaking, grand strategy is, according to E. Luttwak, the level of analysis in which we examine the totality of what happens between states in peace and in war.[2] More specifically, he defines it as a confluence of strategy's vertical and horizontal dimensions: the military actions that flow up and down level by level form strategy's vertical dimension, the varied external relations among states form strategy's horizontal dimension (Table 1).[3]

Since the Old Kingdom, Egypt's grand strategy has had as its goal to protect Egypt proper, to garrison the border, and to ensure Egypt's economic interests in the Near East in order to guarantee the flow of trade goods, mainly timber, but also some prestige goods. We are facing a militarily rather passive grand strategy albeit economically Egypt played an active role.

However, the idea of being safe was shattered by the trauma of the

[1] Many thanks for all kinds of support go to Dr. G. Faust and I. Sander of the Audiovisuelles Zentrum, University of Potsdam.

[2] Luttwak, *Strategy*, 208.

[3] Luttwak, *Strategy*, 209.

Grand Strategy	
strategy's vertical dimension	strategy's horizontal dimension
military actions that flow up and down, level by level	varied external relations among states

Table 1 Grand Strategy according to E. Luttwak.

Hyksos rule – a foreign rule should never happen again! This leads to the insight that the old grand strategy of simply protecting the Asian border is not sufficient anymore because it failed. "Something must be done" is the new motto: Egypt's necessity for safety has grown and has to be satisfied. The solution for Egypt is to play a militarily more active role in its Near Eastern forecourt in order to establish a *cordon sanitaire* protecting Egypt proper from incursions.[4] Once this goal is established the new grand strategy has to be shaped and implemented.

Obviously, military aspects are accompanied by economic aims. Dominating Syria means access to its resources and the control of international trade routes. In the Mediterranean trade via Ugarit the following goods are dealt with: copper, tin, glass, ivory, faience, jewellery and other luxury goods, but also timber, textiles and nourishment; the Ulu Burun and Gelidonia shipwrecks provide evidence for this. On landroutes, resources from the east enter Syria, for instance tin, copper, lapis lazuli and other items. Moreover, Egypt has a large crop yield with a ratio of 10:1,[5] and such a surplus allows Egypt's population to grow to an extent greater than the city-states of Palestine and Syria, which is one of the reasons that enable Egypt to build an empire.[6] Secondly, the taxation of Palestine is the "fuel of the Egyptian expansion"[7] providing the financial basis for the military campaigns and the administrative apparatus set up in the conquered territories.[8] More than a side effect of Egypt's more offensive policy is the high number and variety of tributes which are mentioned in 22 Amarna Letters. One could name, for example, slaves, animals, crops, oil, timber, glass, gold, silver, copper and precious artefacts.[9] The domination over Palestine also permits the direct and safe access to

[4] Murnane, "Imperial Egypt and the Limits of Power," 103 f.

[5] This means a field of 1 *imeru* surface that is sown with 1 *imeru* of wheat resulted in a 10 *imeru* crop (sources: Pap. Wilbour, Hekanakhte Papyri, Pap. Rheinhardt).

[6] Spalinger, "Costs and wages," 19; estimation of 3 million inhabitants in New Kingdom Egypt, see Spalinger, *War*, 203.

[7] Zibelius-Chen, *Expansion*, 239.

[8] Panagiotopoulos, "Tributabgaben und Huldigungsgeschenke," 157 f.

[9] Panagiotopoulos, "Tributabgaben und Huldigungsgeschenke," 141-44.

Lebanese timber.

Yet, I take these reasons for granted and highlight the grand strategy only.

II. The Concepts of Egypt's Grand Strategy

Already Ipuwer states the quest for safe borders by lamenting: "Foreigners have become people (*i.e.* Egyptians) everywhere" – a statement which reflects foreign violations of Egypt's borders.[10] Egypt's security problem in the north – painfully realized during the Hyksos years – is solved with an expansionist grand strategy leading to wars of conquest. The victories in the Near East lead to an immense enlargement of power culminating in an inner and outer sphere of power.

The inner sphere of power consists of the provinces of Canaan, Upe and Amurru under *direct* Egyptian rule.[11] Governors in the respective capitals of Gaza, Kumidi and Ṣumur control the local policies and polities, the Egyptian garrisons and, last but not least, economic life. These capitals are also centres of trade and communications, which means they collect information about political developments in the Near East.

To the outer sphere of power I count the vassal principalities under *indirect* Egyptian rule in the sense of client-states which could be compared to the Roman imperial system of the Julian-Claudian Period.[12] Local systems of power are not disposed: the Egyptian presence is not an area-wide control of all cities and towns, but rather an abrasive net of dependency which is laid over the politically and economically most important settlements.[13] Egypt tolerates a good deal of independent action (including warfare and subversion) among her vassals as long as Egypt's interests suffer no damage.[14] The advantage of this indirect control is that it requires less Egyptian garrisons than direct rule.[15] Numerous Amarna Letters give indications to this system and to the duties of the vassals.[16] For example, EA 288 of Abdi-Heba of Jerusalem: "I am a soldier of the king … I am a friend of the king and a tribute-bearer of the king. It was neither my father nor my mother, but the strong arm of the king that placed me in the house of my father," *i.e.* on the throne. Apart from tribute and support

[10] Leahy, "Foreign Incursions," 549.

[11] For the provincial governors see Helck, *Beziehungen*, 304 f.; Spalinger, *War*, 134-36.

[12] Luttwak, *Grand Strategy*, 7-50.

[13] Panagiotopoulos, "Tributabgaben und Huldigungsgeschenke," 154.

[14] Murnane, "Imperial Egypt and the Limits of Power," 104.

[15] Spalinger, *War*, 135 f.

[16] Moran, *Amarna Letters*; Cohen and Westbrook, *Amarna Diplomacy*; Cohen, *Diplomacy*; Liverani, *Political Lexicon*; Liverani, *Prestige and Interest*.

during a military campaign, the vassals' duties encompass reports on anything that may upset the political and social equilibrium and help in redressing the balance, but also include looking after Egypt's economic interests in the area under a vassal's jurisdication, which includes the supply of Egyptian troops and garrisons therein.[17] This is ensured by an Egyptian commissioner to whom vassal princes have to obey, as shown by EA 317.

This new empire may be termed as hegemonial rather than territorial. Hegemonial empires adopt a strategy of minimal intervention; territorial empires are characterized by the intrusive incorporation of peripheries. Thus, we are facing a system of stepped dependency according to Panagiotopoulos.[18] In fact, we do not know whether this grand strategy is selected only because Egypt's army is not strong enough to impose absolute suzerainty,[19] or because a permanent strong occupation force is too costly.

In order to assure its own power and for deterrence two concepts were established. First, Egypt conducted military actions for punishing rebellious vassals. Second, Egypt positioned many garrisons in the whole area which enable quick response to rebellions. Its high territorial flexibility is guaranteed because of the high number of garrisons, each with a relatively small number of soldiers; this system was established by Thutmose III. This means soldiers can be deployed immediately – wherever a rebellion arises there are several garrisons in the vicinity that can be united for a stronger force together with the soldiers to be summoned by loyal princes. Therefore, I disagree with Frandsen who assumes that social stability under Amenhotep III is so high that a symbolic number of troops is enough.[20] As suggested by the Amarna Letters, garrisons (as at Gaza, Sharuhen, Jerusalem, Kumidi, Joppe, Yarimuta, Megiddo, Ulaza, Tyre, Byblos, Ṣumur, Ugarit) halt disputes among the cities, control troublesome peoples, provide a buffer zone between Egypt and neighbouring empires and promote Egypt's interests in trade, tribute, and communication.[21]

Garrisons and crown domains act as supply stations. The vassals have to provide for the Egyptian troops which are permanently stationed in the Near East and those passing by whilst on a campaign. Egypt invests large funds in the new system, which is archaeologi-

[17] Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," 175.

[18] Panagiotopoulos, "Tributabgaben und Huldigungsgeschenke," 155.

[19] Kemp, "Imperialism," 55.

[20] Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," 175; *cf.* Schulman, "Military Background," 64-66; Helck, *Beziehungen*, 253-55.

[21] Foster, "Forts and Garrisons," 555.



Fig. 1 Beth-Shean, Egyptian governor's residence above the Jordan Valley (from the southwest). Author's photo.

cally documented by the governor's residencies (Fig. 1),[22] forts and other buildings in several strategically important cities and seaport towns and probably also with marine bases.[23]

In the New Kingdom, Egypt is part of an international system consisting of major powers (Hatti, Mitanni, Egypt, Babylonia, and sometimes Assyria), secondary powers (Syro-Palestinian principalities), and inferior polities (nomads). If a major power achieves predominance, it tries to secure it in five ways according to Quincy Wright (Table 2):[24]

1. By superior weapons that are continually developed, and by adjusting and thus improving the strategy; improving weapons systems results in more strategic options.[25] With regard to Egypt, *superior* weaponry cannot be accounted for, but there was no rival foreign polity having better military equipment either.[26] Thus, the country succeeded in improv-

[22] For these residencies (Tel Mesos, Tell el-Far'ah, Tell el-'Ajjul, Tell el-Hesi, Beth-Shean) see Spalinger, *War*, 201; for residencies of the later 19th and 20th Dynasties (Tell el-Far'ah South, Tell es-Sharia, Aphek, Tell Jemmeh (?), Tel Mesos, Tell el-Hesi), see Foster, "Forts and Garrisons," 555.

[23] Hasel, *Domination*, 90-102, 137.

[24] Wright, *Study of War*, 815.

[25] Heagren, "Logistics," 146.

[26] For weaponry see Yadin, *Art of Warfare*; Wolf, *Bewaffnung*; Shaw, *Egyptian Warfare and Weapons*.

Elements to Secure Predominance	Egyptian Evidence
superior weapons adjusting strategy	—— creating hegemonial empire, flexible grand strategy
enlargement of army	advent of New Kingdom; beginning of 19th Dynasty (most likely)
taking away weapons	lists of booty (Annals of Thutmose III, etc.)
conquest	wars of the Thutmoside era; beginning of 19th Dynasty
unequal alliances	outer sphere of power

Table 2 Elements to secure predominance (Q. Wright).

ing her grand strategy by creating her hegemonial empire – which was actually easier to hold with the newly created chariot force adopted from the Hyksos.[27] Moreover, under Thutmose IV and Amenhotep II the implementation of a heavier and faster chariot – a result of the new breed of the short-lined horse – improved the variations of Egypt's military.[28]

2. By increasing the number of soldiers. This was done with the advent of the New Kingdom[29] and most likely for a second time at the beginning of the Ramesside Era.

3. Political rivals were militarily weakened by taking away some of their weapons, as many texts demonstrate.

4. Conquest, which is well documented by the wars of New Kingdom Egypt.

5. It is favourable to make unequal alliances if there are opportunities. Egypt creates such opportunities with her offensive grand strategy by conquering large areas in Palestine and Syria and turning the local princes into vassals of Egypt.

We may conclude that the pharaohs take all five postulated instruments to secure the newly gained predominance. Most important are the conquest of new territories and the alliances with Near Eastern princes. Accomplishing predominance, however, is only possible with a larger and better army than the one that existed before the New Kingdom. Least important is the disarming of enemies because this is only of temporary value.

Continuous warfare is financially impossible, and with regard to political and economic (*i.e.* trading) intentions, not desired. Therefore, the means for avoiding war and

[27] Spalinger, *War*, 19, 23.
[28] Spalinger, "Chariot Arm," 126, 134.
[29] Spalinger, *War*, 173.

keeping peace must be detected. They can be characterised as offensive and defensive ones (Table 3).

The most popular offensive means is conquest, followed by a preferably durable submission of the population. In Asia this is achieved by the creation of three provinces with direct rule – the inner sphere of power.

Another offensive means is the obligation of subdued political entities. There is no direct Egyptian administration, but submitted local rulers usually retrieve their offices from pharaoh, being forced to declare an oath of loyalty, send tributes and support Egypt by all means. From this time onwards they owe their office to Pharaoh (EA 286-288). Obviously, this serves mainly Egypt's interests but the local princes are supposed to receive protection and political stability,[30] the latter being totally neglected by Akhenaten as witnessed by the many unanswered letters asking for troops. Moreover, there is a death penalty for treason, as we learn from EA 162:

> If for any reason whatsoever you prefer to do evil, and if you plot evil, treacherous things, then you, together with your entire familiy, shall die by the axe of the king.

In order to control the princes, new fortresses are built (in the 19th Dynasty at, *e.g.*, Beth-Shean, Tel Mor at the central coast, Deir el-Balah in the south)[31] and Egyptian garrisons stationed (see above).

Defensive political means include contracts, mutual gifts and diplomatic marriages.

Contracts are always closed between rulers and not between states.[32] Therefore, they have to be renewed by the respective successor (EA 1, 6, 8, 9, 10, 26, 27). The earliest known example is the Kurustama Treaty establishing friendship between Hatti and Egypt, most likely at the end of Thutmose III's rule.[33] Another is the one between Thutmose IV and Artatama I mapping out the borderline so that Amurru, Kadesh, the Eleutheros Valley and Ugarit remain under Egypt's control. Amenhotep III and Tushratta form an alliance with mutual assistance in case one of them is attacked by a third party

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30 See Frandsen, "Egyptian Imperialism," 175; Murnane, "Imperial Egypt and the Limits of Power," 110, argues, however, for less specific and conceptually more one-sided bonds in favour of the pharaoh – thus leaving the princes hardly any rights.

31 Spalinger, *War*, 201; for a fortress of Thutmose III see for instance *Urk.* IV, 739 f.

32 For treaties among equals see Sürenhagen, *Paritätische Staatsverträge*.

33 Deeds of Suppiluliumas, fragment 28, see Güterbock, "Deeds of Suppiluliuma," 98; Davis, "Treaty of Friendship," 32-34, 36; de Martino, "Tentative Chronology"; Klinger, "Synchronismen," 235-48; Singer, "Kuruštama Treaty," favours Amenhotep II. See also a Plague Prayer of Mursilli II (CTH 379, II:6'-24').

Offensive Means	Defensive Means
conquest, followed by durable submission (creation of three provinces = inner sphere of power)	contracts between rulers: Kurustama Treaty; Amenhotep III and Tushratta [EA 24]; possibly Mursilli II and Horemheb [KUB XIX 31]; Ramesses-Hattusilli peace treaty
obligation of subdued entities (oath of loyalty, tributes = outer sphere of power)	correspondence between rulers and members of the ruling families (archives)
new forts, garrisons	gifts
	royal marriages: Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV, Ramesses II

Table 3 Means for avoiding war and keeping peace.

(EA 24). Moreover, there is KUB XIX 31 with its possible agreement between Mursilli II and Horemheb.[34] The culmination between a peacekeeping grand strategy is the Ramesses-Hattusilli treaty[35] which has a high propagandistic value for Ramesses, whereas for Hattusilli both legitimisation and royal succession are most important. A definition of the border is not included because it was not the prime reason for either side in concluding the treaty.[36]

For both Egypt and Hatti this treaty has a long lasting impact because it reduces the former "hot-spot" – Syria – to a mutually respected border area. Both parties consider the treaty not as a mere clay tablet but as a vital part of their security system. Moreover, it is long-lasting, otherwise there would be no reason for Merneptah to send shiploads of crops (K*RI* IV, 5:3) to help Hatti[37] fight a shortage of food.

In the following years of Ramesses II the friendship is intensified by a correspondence between the royal families (for instance letters of the queens), gifts,[38] the intended royal visit to Egypt,[39] and the two Hittite marriages of Ramesses II. It is also part of the system to honour loyal and efficient princes and to send them precious gifts:

His Majesty went to Retenu on his

[34] Bryce, "Tette," 26; Kitchen, *RITANC* II, § 222. For the Egyptian-Hittite sources see also Edel, *Korrespondenz*; Beckman, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*.

[35] For the treaty see Klengel, *Hattuschili and Ramses*; Spalinger, "Hittite Treaty"; Roth, "In schönem Frieden," 183-86; Brand, "Ideology and Politics," 27-33; Schmidt, *Friede durch Vertrag*.

[36] Breyer, "Redaktionsgeschichte," 19.

[37] Wainwright, "Meneptah's Aid."

[38] Gifts are one of the oldest means of grand strategy, as witnessed by the stone vessels of many Old Kingdom kings in Byblos.

[39] Edel, "Besuch Hattusilis III."

> first victorious campaign in order to extend his borders and distribute gifts to those who were his vassals (Amenhotep II, Memphis Stela, *Urk.* IV, 1301).

Royal marriages are a proper means of cementing political relations or treaty ties by means of familial ties. Diplomatic and dynastic marriages intend to foster economic ties and demonstrate the political will to bind equal-ranking kings (EA 4) and their realms and to dominate lesser princes. The Amarna Letters prove many diplomatic marriages[40] of the pharaoh to royal daughters of various Near Eastern powers. Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III marry Mitanni princesses (EA 17, 20, 21), the latter intends to marry princesses from Arzawa (EA 31, possibly EA 32) and Babylon (EA 1, 3). These are marriages between coequal powers. Moreover, the pharaoh also marries daughters of vassal princes as a means to secure domination – though on the other hand the inferior partner receives security – so both parties strengthen their relationship, which is defined by an oath.

The sources enable us to detect ten political, military, administrative and psychological/intellectual instruments of Egypt's security policy and grand strategy (Table 4):

1. Diplomacy by dint of written correspondence, documented so well in several archives. Such contacts are intensified by means of the regular exchange of gifts which could, sometimes, lead to considerable greediness: some kings and vassals even complain about not having received enough. If the contacts are close enough, treaties may be signed or a royal marriage may be arranged.

2. The subdued princes are bound to Egypt by an oath of loyalty but they retain inner autonomy.

3. The pharaoh invests new princes. If the incumbent dies or rules in a way which is not acceptable to Egypt, the pharaoh nominates the successor.[41]

4. In order to ensure the loyalty of vassals, sons of ruling princes are brought to Egypt as hostages and are educated, obviously in an Egyptian manner. These princes are the future elite in their native countries, and supposedly they act in accordance with Egyptian policies:

> Now the children of the princes and their brothers were brought to be hostages in Egypt. Whoever of these princes died, His Majesty used to make his son to go to stand in his place (*Urk.* IV, 690:2-5).

Probably the only specific depiction of a princely hostage sent to the Egyptian court is preserved in the tomb of Menkheperresoneb (TT 86).[42]

5. There are wars of conquest –

[40] Schulman, "Diplomatic Marriage."

[41] See Cowie, "Pax Aegyptiaca," 22.

[42] Cowie, "Pax Aegyptiaca," 19.

Instruments of Egypt's grand strategy
1. diplomacy
2. oath of loyalty (Syrian and Palestinian princes)
3. Pharaoh invests new princes
4. hostages (sons of ruling princes)
5. wars of conquest
6. severe punishments (impaling etc.) as discouragement
7. arable land is declared royal domain (to supply garrisons and marching armies)
8. resettlement (prisoners of war and their families as future mercenaries and manpower)
9. establishment of many forts and garrisons
10. demonstration of military strength as a means of deterrence

Table 4 Instruments of Egypt's grand strategy.

the main objective in Thutmoside Egypt as well as the determination of the early 19th Dynasty.

6. Severe punishments are imposed as discouragement, for instance impaling.

7. Arable land is declared royal domain to fill Egyptian granaries. The products of these estates supply the Egyptian garrisons, officials, public servants and their families in Syria and Palestine. In addition, we should not forget the regular tributes. This is an administrative, mainly economic, measure.

8. There is evidence for resettlement, *i.e.* prisoners of war as future mercenaries in the Egyptian army or as manpower. In terms of grand strategy, these are rather small numbers. It thus belongs to the operative level, not to grand strategy.

9. The establishment of many forts and garrisons in order to safeguard Egypt's sphere of power. This is a means of deterrence by the regular presence of Egypt's armed forces.

10. The demonstration of military strength as a means of deterrence – although it would be overinterpreting the sources to argue that Egyptian missions were regular and seasonal as Liverani suggests.[43] Egypt threatens to use its army, usually reacts quickly in crises, and demonstrates strength by the regular presence of the pharaoh himself together with his army.

Out of these instruments we may distil those ones which are directly related to grand strategy:

- diplomatic actions: gifts, correspondence;
- oaths of loyalty and investiture

[43] Liverani, "Seasonal Pattern."

of princes (systematically seen as a combined action);
- princely hostages (direct threat to their life);
- wars of conquest;
- severe punishments;
- establishment and enhancement of garrisons;
- restricted military actions to punish rebellious vassals.

These instruments can be connected with strategic models of general André Beaufre and the concepts of direct and indirect strategy of general Günther Blumentritt (Table 5).

A. Beaufre offers five models of grand strategy which are, according to him, examples rather than an encompassing classification of strategy types.[44]

- Model 1: direct threat – with a good deal of power and troops already the threat may force the enemy to accept new conditions;
- Model 2: indirect threat – if power and troops are insufficient → diplomatic, political moves;
- Model 3: successive actions – a combination of direct and indirect threat and limited use of force; in Egypt: regular campaigns in the form of restricted military actions with limited use of force;
- Model 4: long fight of rather low intensity (usually guerrilla);
- Model 5: violent conflict aimed at military victory (to seek decision on the battleground).

In this context it is helpful to consider G. Blumentritt's classificaton of strategy[45] which may be connected with Beaufre's models.

- Direct Strategy: the aim is to move towards the enemy, to overwhelm him with strategic offensive; according to Christoph Abegglen: in order to impose one's own will upon the enemy one mainly uses or threatens with the instrument of power "armed forces."[46]
- Indirect Strategy: first, set the stage in order to approach the enemy when he is in an unfavourable situation; indirect strategy may be implemented with political moves. For example: After Thutmose III's successful campaign to the Euphrates River, Aššur seeks closer ties to Egypt; Thutmose accepts and the result is an increase of pressure on Mitanni from two sides.

There emerges a pattern of Egypt's grand strategy. First, the favoured strategic model is direct threat, fol-

[44] Beaufre, *Totale Kriegskunst*, 34.

[45] Blumentritt, *Strategie und Taktik*, 12, 15.

[46] Abegglen, "Zusammenwirken," http://mypage.bluewin.ch/abegglen/papers/strategisches_denken.html.

Egyptian Evidence							Theoretical Approach	
diplomatic actions	oaths, investiture	hostages	wars of conquest	severe punishments	garrisons	regular campaigns: restricted actions	strategic models (Beaufre)	concepts of strategy (Blumentritt)
		•		•	•		direct threat	direct strategy
✤	✤						indirect threat	indirect strategy
						•	successive actions	direct strategy
							guerrilla	indirect strategy
			•				violent conflict	direct strategy

Table 5 Instruments of security policy in Egypt in relation to strategic models (Beaufre) and concepts of strategy (Blumentritt).

lowed by indirect threat, but successive actions and violent conflict are also applied. Second, Egypt clearly implements the concept of direct strategy.

III. Conclusion

Egypt's grand strategy is flexible and innovative, as shown by the different political and military means.

Enemies who cannot be beaten, such as Mitanni and Hatti, may be incorporated in the security system by embracing them as allies and thus taking advantage of them. Although this may not be the desired result of Egypt's grand strategy, it could – under certain circumstances – well be approved, just as mentioned in the Kadesh Poem, § 329: "There is no blame in peace when *you* (pharaoh) make it" – *i.e.* when it is implemented by the pharaoh, not by a foreign power. These regions represent the outer limit of Egypt's sphere of influence because it is easier to exert influence on a friend than on a foe.

Enemies who can be beaten are treated twofold. In the inner sphere of power their territory is incorporated into the Empire, such as Nubia and the Syro-Palestinian provinces of Canaan, Upe and Amurru (territorial empire). In the outer sphere of power the beaten enemies lose their sovereignty but keep inner autonomy with their local princes still in office (hegemonial empire).

This twofold treatment may be the result of the discernment that the political and military domination of the Near East's vast regions with *powerful* rivals on *many* frontiers (these are the two major differences to the Nubian theatre) would overextend Egypt's military and economic resources. This conclusion is made already by the pharaohs of the early 18th Dynasty who thus develop the central pillars of Egypt's grand strategy in the New Kingdom.

The title of my paper is "A View to a Kill." Who was killed? Mitanni was killed, because it was squeezed between the major Near Eastern powers:

- Egypt under Thutmose I and Thutmose III drives them to the northeast;
- Hatti pushes them to the southeast only to be faced with the rising Assyrian star;
- Further south lurks powerful Kassite Babylonia;
- Akhenaten does not help Mitanni against Suppiluliuma I.

Eventually, Mitanni loses its sovereignty and is relegated to the second division of powers.

Abbreviations

EA	Amarna Letters
RITANC II	Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions. Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments*. Vol. II. Oxford/Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996.
Urk. IV	Sethe, K and W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Berlin/Graz: Akademie-Verlag, 1955-61.

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Hatshepsut's Appointment as Crown Prince and the Egyptian Background to Isaiah 9:5

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Abstract

A possible Egyptian background to Isaiah 9:5 is reviewed in the light of a text from Deir el-Bahari in which Thutmose I announces to his courtiers and to the people that Hatshepsut will be his heir. Only four of Hatshepsut's names are proclaimed, since she already bore the fifth name, her *nomen* Hatshepsut, given to her at birth. The text does not link her *nomen* with the Son of Re title, since only the reigning king could be defined as Re's son. This assessment of the Hatshepsut text also supports the interpretation that the Isaiah text, which has the same sequence of events, refers to the proclamation of a crown prince rather than to an accession to the throne. It is further argued that the understanding of the nature of the Egyptian king's relationship to the deity in the New Kingdom would not have precluded it from serving as a model for Israelite kingship.

Introduction

In 1929 H. Gressmann[1] suggested that there might be an Egyptian background to the giving of the names to the child in Isaiah 9:5, but it was not until the appearance of G. von Rad's 1947 study[2] that the possibility of an Egyptian influence behind the names, as well as the context in which they are proclaimed, became regularly part of the discussion of the interpretation of this text.[3] The majority of scholars seem to support the idea of an Egyptian connection, including the authors of a number of standard commentaries on Isaiah.[4] However, in the debate voices have been raised that discount the posited Egyptian connection,[5] and the author of one well known commentary is very cautious.[6]

Although the weight of opinion seems to favour seeing an Egyptian influence, the reservations of

1 Gressmann, *Der Messias*, 245.

2 Von Rad, "Das judäische Königsritual," 211-16 = *Gesammelte Studien*, 205-13.

3 For example, Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 107-08; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 401 ff.

4 In addition to von Rad and Gressmann, Alt, "Jesaja 8,23-9,6," 206-25; Mowinckel, *He That Commeth*, 102-10; Rehm, *Der königliche Messias*, 162-66; Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12;* Seybold, *Das davidische Königtum*, 83; Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 286; Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 107-08; Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte*, 168; Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 401 ff.; Sweeny, *Isaiah 1-39*; Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*.

5 As, for example, by Kitchen, *Ancient Orient and Old Testament*, 106 ff.; Carlson, "The Anti-Assyrian Character of the Oracle in Is. IX 1-6," 130-35; Wegner, "A Re-Examination of Isaiah IX 1-6," 103-12.

6 Blenkinsop, *Isaiah 1-39*, 248.

those who discount it need to be addressed and there are still some issues on which the supporters of the theory have varying views.

It is the aim of this study to review these issues in light of an ancient Egyptian text that has not received full consideration in the debate. H. Wildberger, in his 1960 study,[7] does refer to it, but only in connection with one specific detail, namely the observation that in Egypt the names given the king and proclaimed by the priests were placed in the hearts of the priests by the god.

Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari Texts

The series of reliefs and accompanying inscriptions on the walls of the northern middle terrace of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari recording the birth of the divine king is one of the best known features of the decoration of the temple. This record fills the lower of the two registers on the temple wall. Less familiar are the reliefs and inscriptions occupying the upper register which form a continuation of the birth relief sequence and record the following:

1. The purification of the child by Horus and Amun;

2. Amun's presentation of the child to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt;[8]

3. Hatshepsut's visit, in the company of her father Thutmose I, to the gods of Egypt;[9]

4. Hatshepsut being received by Atum[10] and then Amun;[11]

5. The announcement by Thutmose I of his decision that his daughter Hatshepsut was to be his heir and successor, with the proclamation of her official titles;[12]

6. The god Iuenmutef leading Hatshepsut to the god Ha who performs the ceremony of purification;

7. Horus leading Hatshepsut to the shrines where he, together with Seth, crown her first as king of Upper and then as king of Lower Egypt.[13]

Of interest to us is the fifth episode of this sequence, the king's announcement that Hatshepsut will be his heir. Here, the king appears enthroned under a baldachin, with his daughter (her figure hacked out) standing in front of him. The first eleven columns of the text with the beginning of the inscription are carved behind the baldachin; the text continues in front of the scene in seven columns which are followed by a scene with

[7] Wildberger, "Namen des Messiahs," 314-32; on 326 he refers specifically to *Urk*. IV, 261.

[8] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pl. LVI.

[9] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pl. LVII.

[10] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pl. LVIII.

[11] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pls. LIX-LX.

[12] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pls. LX-LXIII (left end).

[13] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pls. LXIII-LXIV.

nine male figures, the courtiers to whom the king announces his decision.[14] The text continues in 17 columns behind the courtiers, followed by four shorter columns giving the newly proclaimed names of Hatshepsut.

Translation of the Text[15]

Introduction

The King Recognises the Outstanding Qualities of his Daughter:

The Majesty of this her father sees her – how very divine is her nature, her mind outstanding, and her crown great! She will judge justly, after her dignity has ascended to that which her ka will achieve, the living having been placed in her embrace in <his> palace of the residence. (*Urk.* IV, 255.4-10)

Thutmose I Summons Hatshepsut:

Then his majesty said to her, "Come, that you may be beneficial, (you) whom(?) I have placed in my embrace,
that you may see your governance in the palace,
that you may exercise your glorious kas and receive your dignity;
that you may be effective in your magic,
mighty in your strength,
powerful in the Two Lands;
that you may seize the rebellious,
that you may appear in the palace, your brow having been adorned with the two powerful ones (the double crown).
You will rest as my heir, who was born to me,
Daughter of the White Crown,
Beloved of Uto,
the crowns having been given to you by the foremost of the thrones of the gods (Amun). (*Urk.* IV, 255.11-256.8)

The King Summons the Court:

Then His Majesty had brought to him the royal nobles, the dignitaries, the companions, the entourage of the residence and the leaders of the people (rekhyt) in order to do for her what had been decreed, placing the majesty of this his daughter in his embrace in his palace of the residence. (*Urk.* IV, 256.9-16)

An Audience of the King Takes Place:

The occurrence of an audience of the king himself in the audience hall of the west of the enclosure(?), these people being on their bellies in the seclusion of the palace, His Majesty then saying to them: (*Urk.* IV, 256.17-257.5)

[14] The number nine is symbolic, the plural of the plural, thus indicating that the king's proclamation takes place before the totality of his courtiers.

[15] The translation offered here is based on the hieroglyphic text conveniently available in Sethe, *Urk.* IV, 254.14-262.1. A facsimile copy of the hieroglyphic text can be found in Naville, *Deir el Bahari* III, pls. LX-LXIII. For an earlier translation see Breasted, *Ancient Records* II, §§232-239.

Announcement of the King (Thutmose I):

> *"This (my) daughter Hatshepsut-Khenemetamun, may she live, I appoint her as my successor; indeed, {you} <she> will be the one upon this my seat; to be sure, she it is, she will sit upon this my wondrous throne and will decree matters for the commoners in all the places (departments) of the palace. She, indeed, she will lead them while they will obey her word and unite under her decree. He who will praise her, he will live; he who will speak an evil thing, ignoring her majesty, he will die. As for all who will hear (anything) connected with the name of her majesty, may he come immediately to report to the king, as is done in the name of my majesty, for she is your god, the daughter of god, and it is the gods who fight on her behalf, they will place their protection around her daily according to what her father, the lord of the gods, decreed.* (*Urk*. IV, 257.6-258.5)

Reaction of the Nobles to the King's Words:

> *Then the nobles of the king, the dignitaries and leaders of the people (rekhyt) heard this decree of elevating the rank of his daughter, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare, may he live forever. They kissed the ground at his feet when the word of the king fell amongst them, praising all the gods because of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aakheperkare, may he live forever. Then they (the nobles) went out to them (the rekhyt?) rejoicing, dancing and exalting, all the rekhyt and all the departments of the residence hearing.* (*Urk*. IV, 259.1-11)

Reaction of the People (*rekhyt*):

> *Then they (the rekhyt and departments of the palace?) came to them rejoicing, exalting more than anything, department by department therein distinguished by name, company (by) company ///, dancing, leaping, their hearts joyful, proclaiming the name of her majesty as king.* (*Urk*. IV, 259.12-260.2)

Emphasis on Youth of Hatshepsut:

> *Now, (although) Her Majesty was an infant, the great god, he was inclining their hearts to his daughter Maatkare, may she live forever, they knowing, she is indeed the daughter of a god, and marvelling that her divine power is greater than anything. As for every man who loves her in his heart and adores her daily when she appears, he will flourish more than anything;* as *for any man who speaks (ill) in the name of Her Majesty, the god causes that he die immediately, for it is the gods who place their protection around her daily. The majesty of this her father hears this, all the people (rekhyt) pronouncing the name of this his daughter as king, when her majesty was but a child.* (*Urk*. IV, 260.3-17)

Proclamation of the Names of Hatshepsut

> *Then the heart of His Majesty rejoiced thereat more than anything, his majesty decreeing that one fetch the lector priests to proclaim her*

great names of receiving her dignities of king of Upper and Lower Egypt, and to place in operation in every seal of the union of the Two Lands, the circling of the wall and the clothing of all the gods of the union of the Two Lands, he knowing the benefit of a coronation at the start of the year, being the beginning of peaceful years of her celebrating millions of very many sed-festivals. Then they announced her names of king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the god (Amun) having caused that the making of her names occur like what he had made therein formerly:

Her great name Horus, Powerful of Kas eternally;

Her great name Two Ladies, Flourishing of Years, the perfect goddess, mistress of ceremonies;

Her great name Horus of Gold, Divine of Appearances;

Her great name of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maat-ka-Re given life. Now it is her true name, which the god had previously made. (*Urk*. IV, 260.17-262.1)

Isaiah 9:5

Viewing Isaiah 9:5 against the backdrop of Hatshepsut's account is informative; it also resolves a number of the difficulties that some commentators have, who are sceptical with regard to a possible Egyptian background to the Biblical passage.

The Sequence of Events

In the Isaiah text, the response of the people comes *before* the announcement of the king's titulary, which is in contrast to the sequence of events in the Egyptian parallels previously drawn on by Biblical scholars, where the titulary is first proclaimed and the response of the court follows. This discrepancy was noted by P. Wegner[16] and seen as an argument against an Egyptian influence. Referring to von Rad's suggestion[17] that there is a change of person after the second *ki*, Wegner rejects this:

> The order of this passage is different than the suggested Egyptian parallels in that the announcement to the people is before and not after the giving of the name and endowment of the protocol. This presents an awkward situation for it suggests that the child was presented to the people before his official change of status which is unlikely.

He also notes:

> In the titulary of Thutmose III [J.H. Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt II (Chicago, etc., 1906), pp. 62-4] the reply from the court occurs only after the name has been bestowed. In the present arrangement of Isa. ix 5-6 the response from the court

[16] Wegner, "A Re-Examination of Isaiah IX 1-6," esp. 105.

[17] Von Rad, "Das judäische Königsritual," 213 [= *The Problem of the Hexateuch*, 230].

> is made before they have heard the titulary and therefore is not exactly parallel, as von Rad suggests.[18]

Hatshepsut's account removes this difficulty for here the announcement of her change of status and the reaction of the people come *before* the proclamation of her titulary, paralleling the Biblical account.

The Genre of the Text

Defining the genre of the Isaiah text has been difficult[19] and several suggestions have been made: Accession Oracle,[20] Royal psalm of thanksgiving,[21] prophetic hymn of thanksgiving,[22] a variation on the Accession Oracle definition sees it as a "combination of Birth account and Accession in the form of Thanksgiving of an individual."[23] More recently, Willem A.M. Beuken states,

> the literary Genre that forms the basis of this last segment is no longer the Thanksgiving of an Individual but rather a looking back at the birth and enthronement of the heir from the House of David.[24]

The modification to von Rad's accession oracle, suggested by Barth and adopted by Beuken, is motivated by the following considerations:

a. The perceived difficulty posed by the designation of the child as "child" and "son," rather than as "son of Yahweh," the designation of the king in Psl 2;

b. In the course of the enthronement Yahweh makes the king his son. In contrast to this, in Isaiah 9:5 the statement is that to "us," the speaker, a "son has been given";

c. The use of a passive, and in this sense ambiguous, expression in Isaiah 9:5 to express the fact that Yahweh has made the king his son is inexplicable;

d. The expressions לם and נתן are unattested in connection with the enthronement of the king in the Hebrew Bible, whereas they fit the context of a birth narrative well. Thus vs. 5a should be understood to refer to the physical birth first (vs. 5aα) and then the enthronement (vs. 5aβ).[25]

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[18] Wegner, "A Re-Examination of Isaiah IX 1-6," 106 n. 16.

[19] "Gegenüber der Denkschrift erweist sich 9,1-6 sowohl hinsichtlich seiner Sprache und Gattung als auch im Blick auf den traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund als ein sehr eigenständiger Text, der sich redaktionsgeschichtlich nur schwer einordnen läßt." Waschke, "Stellung der Königstexte im Jesajabuch," 344-45.

[20] This was the suggestion of von Rad, "Das judäische Königsritual," 212 and it has been followed by some, *e.g.* Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 103.

[21] Sweeny, *Isaiah 1-39*.

[22] Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 125.

[23] Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte*, 164. Laato, *Who is Immanuel?*, 178 does not seem to distinguish between Genre and Form as Barth does and speaks of the "Gattung" of the poem being a thanksgiving of the individual.

[24] Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, 249.

[25] Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte*, 167-68.

These are pertinent observations and Barth's suggestion that we are not dealing with a text that refers to the enthronement of the king at which he is adopted as the son of Jahweh is supported when one looks at the text in the light of the Hatshepsut parallel. We are not dealing there with an enthronement oracle in which the *god*, in Egypt Amun, proclaims who the new king is to be, but with an announcement of his identity made by the reigning *king* from or in the palace to the courtiers and the people. Seen in this context, the third person plural pronoun "us" in Isaiah would clearly refer to the hearers of the announcement, the courtiers and the people.

Von Rad had a problem with the identity of "we":

> Who are the 'we' to whom the heir to the throne has been given? ... One always takes v. 5 to be the words of the people who, until then, had 'walked in darkness'. [26]

But his problem also derives from the wish to see in the text a derivation from Egyptian royal protocols (*Königsprotokollen*), for in these it is always the deity who speaks:

> A departure from the original first person narration is only found when the kings speak to third persons of the predications that the deity has conferred on them. This understanding of vs. 5 would then correspond to the stylistic form of the speech of God in Psl. 2. And quite apart from this, would it not be far too unnatural for the people to speak of a child having been given 'to them'?[27]

Again, in the light of Hatshepsut's text these difficulties are resolved. The people rejoice at being told who their king will be and for them to speak of *a child having been given "to them"*, in a figurative way, is by no means unnatural.

As already mentioned, the sequence of events, the proclamation of the future king's titles *following* the announcement to the people, agrees with the sequence of events in Hatshepsut's text.

Thus in his Isaiah commentary H. Wildberger, who defines the genre of the text as a Birth Announcement, is on the right track when he states:

> Therefore, one might venture the following conclusion: 9:5 must be understood as a prophetic imitation of a proclamation from the palace in Jerusalem; this imitation follows the pattern of what took place, soon after the birth of a royal child, on the occasion of his investiture with the honors due to a crown prince.[28]

The only modification one might suggest is that the proclamation need not have taken place *soon after the birth of a royal child*, but could

[26] Von Rad, "Krönungsritual," 215 (= *Gesammelte Studien,* 212).

[27] Von Rad, "Krönungsritual," 215-16 (= *Gesammelte Studien*, 212-13).

[28] Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 401.

have been a little later, as in the case of Hatshepsut. In view of the high infant mortality in ancient societies, it is doubtful whether a newly born infant would have been officially proclaimed heir to the throne, even if there *was* a general expectation that he would succeed his father. In the Deir el-Bahari text Hatshepsut is clearly not a babe in arms, but her youth is stressed – she is called an *inpw* a "child,"[29] the same word that is used of Thutmose III in the "Text de la jeunesse" in Karnak, which records his election to the kingship by Amun when he was a young boy.[30]

The Problem of the Number of Names

The question of the number of names given the child in Isaiah 9:5 has always played an important role in the exegesis of the passage. Those who were convinced of the Egyptian background to the event looked for a fifth name, since the official titulary or *nekhbet* of the Egyptian king comprises five names. Thus in his Isaiah commentary, Otto Kaiser writes "The fifth and last (name) seems to be lost" and in note a. to his translation states*:* "It (the fifth name) is necessary especially because of the fivefold Egyptian throne Name."[31]

Mettinger asserts, "One should also note that the Egyptian fivefold name seems to lie behind Is 9,5-6,"[32] and in his footnote 41 declares "I am inclined to disagree with Zimmerli (*VT* 22/1972, 249ff.), who thinks that there were originally only four names in Is ch. 9."

In his commentary on Isaiah, R.E. Clements states:

> The series of four names which follow, built up in word couples, almost certainly derives from the Egyptian practice of giving throne-names to the Pharaoh. ... The Egyptian practice was for a series of five names to be given, suggesting that this was originally the case here, and that one name has been lost in the transmission.[33]

H. Wildberger's position is similar:

> In light of the fact that the royal titles in Egypt have five parts, we assume that there is a fifth name lurking within the apparently damaged beginning of v. 6.[34]

Several suggestions for the reconstruction of the supposedly lost

[29] *WB* I, 96.5. For a discussion of the term see Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 27 ff. and 223 f., who defines it as denoting a not-yet sexually mature crown prince or king.

[30] Brunner (see n. 29) provides references to further occurrences of the word. On the image of the king as child in Egypt and Israel, see Weißflog, "Der König als Kind."

[31] Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 129.

[32] Mettinger, *King and Messiah*, 286.

[33] Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, 107.

[34] Wildberger, *Isaiah 1-12*, 405.

fifth name have also been made.[35]

On the other hand, for those who reject the conjectured fifth name, its absence is an argument *against* an Egyptian connection.

R.A. Carlson[36] is of the opinion that there were only four names and dismisses attempts to construct a fifth; following Zimmerli,[37] he also sees the first two letters (לם) of the first word in v. 6 (למרבה) as resulting from dittography. For Carlson, the weakness of Wildberger's interpretation of the oracle, which is based on the supposition of the Egyptian influence that is assumed to have shaped the form of royal ideology in Jerusalem, lies in the "undeniable fact that the number of names in ix 5 is four," and he goes on to argue for an Assyrian background to the names.

A. Laato[38] supports Carlson's view and also seeks parallels for the names in names attested for the Assyrian king.[39] A weakness in his approach is that the Assyrian names do not appear as a fixed group of four names; in the choice of the individual names in Isaiah 9:5, Assyrian royal names and epithets may have influenced the author, but such names are not found in a fixed sequence as is the case in Isaiah 9:5. One might also note that the symbolic significance of the number four in the context of the king's dominion is not confined to Assyria; in Egypt one can point, for example, to the sending out of four birds to the four cardinal points at the Min festival or at the conclusion of the *sed* festival to announce the king's rule to the four quarters.[40]

The first of the arguments advanced by P. Wegner against the view that there is any Egyptian influence behind the ideas expressed in Isaiah 9:5 is the lack of sufficient evidence for the existence of five titles that correspond to the Egyptian titulary.[41]

The account in Hatshepsut's text, in which *four* names are bestowed on her and proclaimed to the people, removes this obstacle.

There remains the question, why did Hatshepsut not receive her fifth name and title, the name associated with the title "Son of Re," at this point in time? First of all, we need to bear in mind that

35 *E.g.* von Rad, "Das judäische Königsritual," 211 f.; Alt, "Jesaja 8,23-9,6. Befreiungsnacht und Krönungstag," 219; Wildberger, "Die Namen des Messiahs," 314 ff.; Schunck "Der fünfte Thronname des Messias," 108-10.

36 Carlson, "The Anti-Assyrian Character of the Oracle in Is. IX 1-6," 130-35.

37 Zimmerli, "Vier oder fünf Thronnamen," 249-52.

38 Laato, *Who is Immanuel?*, 174.

39 Carlson, "The Anti-Assyrian Character of the Oracle in Is. IX 1-6," 192.

40 See Goedicke, "Symbolische Zahlen," 128-29 and Kessler, "Himmelsrichtungen," 1213-15.

41 Wegner, "A Re-Examination of Isaiah IX 1-6," 105.

she did not have to be given the name itself since she already bore it – it was the name "Hatshepsut," given to her at her birth, and thus it was well known and did not have to be proclaimed. In the text she is also referred to by this name, but it is not preceded by the title "Son of Re"; when she is called Hatshepsut in the text she is not addressed as the son / daughter of Re but as the daughter of her earthly father, Thutmose I. This is understandable since only the reigning king could have the title "Son of Re" attached to his *nomen* or birth name. Admittedly, in the representations of herself in the reliefs Hatshepsut is regularly designated "King of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare, Son of Re Hatshepsut,"[42] but this designation should be understood as *post-eventum*, a projection back in time of her position at the time the reliefs and inscriptions were carved, when she was a reigning king. This is also the case when she is represented with these titles as an infant in the cycle of scenes recording her birth.[43]

The sequence of events recorded at Deir el-Bahari cannot all be taken as an historical account. They are introduced by what is clearly a mythological text, the divine birth of Hatshepsut. It is also clear that, even though the account of Thutmose I's proclamation of Hatshepsut as his heir is followed by her coronation, this did not actually occur in the reign of her father, which is demonstrated by the fact that when she eventually did ascend the throne as king, she did not count her regnal years from this point in her father's reign (in the inscription the event is not dated to a specific year) but from the death of her husband and half-brother Thutmose II, the person who actually succeeded their father Thutmose I; she did this even though in fact her step-son Thutmose III actually succeeded her husband and she did not assume the full kingship and reign conjointly with him until around year 7 of Thutmose III. In the relief sequence there is a conflation of events.

One cannot totally rule out the possibility that Thutmose I did at some stage for some reason indicate that he wished Hatshepsut to succeed him. But, as Aidan Dodson has recently observed,[44] regardless of whether one accepts the historicity of the events, the fact that Hatshepsut, and later Ramesses II, adopt the motif of the reigning king's presentation of his designated successor to an assembly of courtiers and the "people," suggests that a ceremony for the formal designation of the ruling

[42] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* III, pls. LXI-LXIII.

[43] Naville, *Deir el Bahri* II, pls. LIII, LV.

[44] Dodson, "On the alleged 'Amenhotep III/IV coregency' graffito," 27.

king's heir did exist. If the names by which the future king was to be known were proclaimed on such an occasion it would not have been necessary to proclaim his *nomen* or birth name as this was already well known and at this juncture he was still the son of the reigning king, not the son of Re, a status he would only assume on his actual accession. A situation such as this would fit the context of Isaiah 9:5 very well.

The Egyptian Concept of the Divinity of the King

It has been argued that the concept of the divinity of the Egyptian pharaoh poses a stumbling block to seeing the names of the child in the Isaiah text as being in some way influenced by Egyptian ideas of kingship, since the Judean view of kingship is held to have been distinct from that of Egypt, precluding the adoption of Egyptian concepts in Jerusalem.

In a list of arguments against seeing the names being influenced by Egyptian concepts, J.N. Oswalt states:

> Third, the Egyptians believed their kings were gods and the names express that belief. But the Hebrews did not believe this. They denied that the king was anything more than the representative of God. [45]

He also asserts:

> Despite strenuous attempts to find evidence of beliefs in divine kingship in Israel, the most that can be said is that there may have been a belief in adoption (Ps. 2:7; 2 Sam. 7:14). But even that view lacks unambiguous evidence.[46]

P.D. Wegner maintains,

> There is no other evidence that Judean kings followed the Egyptian practice of assuming divine titles; indeed, there are significant reasons for believing that the Israelite view of kingship was distinct from the Egyptian view.[47]

Not all commentators have seen this as posing a problem; G. von Rad, a proponent of the Egyptian connection, also emphasises the differing notions of kingship,[48] as does O. Kaiser,[49] both understanding the Egyptian concept to imply physical sonship rather than adoption. W.A.M. Beuken understands the Egyptian king as being conceived of as a bodily manifestation of the divinity.[50]

A notable exception is H. Barth, who does not have a problem with the statements made about the king in the names:

> Based on all that we know about the Jerusalem royal ideology, from

[45] Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, 246.

[46] Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah*, 246, footnote 20.

[47] Wegner, "Re-Examination of Isaiah IX 1-6," 105 with n. 12.

[48] Von Rad, "Königsritual," 209 (= *Gesammelte Studien*, 214).

[49] Kaiser, *Isaiah 1-12*, 129.

[50] Beuken, *Jesaja 1-12*, 251.

> the Hebrew Bible itself and from corresponding ancient Near Eastern concepts of kingship, which clearly were only adopted critically and with modifications in Jerusalem, one can assume that, in principle, the throne names in Isaiah 9,5b do not conflict with those normally borne by kings of Jerusalem.[51]

The major obstacle to the possibility of seeing Egyptian influence on the theology of kingship in Jerusalem that one frequently encounters in the writing of Biblical commentators is the belief in the concept of a relationship of physical sonship between the deity and king in Egypt. This issue needs to be reconsidered since it is based on a rather undifferentiated view of the theology of kingship in Egypt.[52]

By the New Kingdom at least, the divine sonship of the king was not understood literally but was conceived of in metaphorical terms; this can be clearly seen when, for example, the assembly of all the gods of Egypt greet Ramesses II with the words "Welcome, our son, our beloved!"[53] Clearly, a physical sonship is not meant here. Apart from expressing a general relationship of trust and acceptance, the king's divine sonship defines him as being like the gods in his qualities and abilities. The well-known myth of the birth of the divine king was understood in the New Kingdom not as a statement about the king's legitimacy but about his divine qualities.[54] In particular, as his "Son of Re" title expresses, the king is the son of the heavenly king, the state god Re or, in the New Kingdom, Amun-Re as solar deity, because he shares the particular divine qualities of that god which are needed to exercise his rule on earth, especially *sia* "divine perception" and *hu* "authoritative command." But in the New Kingdom, the king's legitimacy does not rest on his divine sonship, it is primarily derived from his being "chosen/elected" (*stp*) by the god[55] and placed by him on earth as his living image; the designation "image of god," first encountered at the end of the 2nd Intermediate Period, proclaims the king as the god's representative on earth. The great importance placed on divine election in the New Kingdom is well illustrated by a number of texts which recount in some detail how the king was singled out for the

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51 Barth, *Die Jesaja-Worte*, 170

52 For a summary of the development of the theology of kingship in ancient Egypt see Ockinga, *Gottebenbildlichkeit*, 134-38 and Ockinga, "Amarna Kingship." See also Hoffmeier, "The King as God's Son in Egypt and Israel," who also considers the historical context in which Egyptian ideas may have exerted an influence on Israel. For a concrete example of Egyptian royal phraseology being adopted in Israel see Ockinga, "Egyptian Royal Phraseology in Psalm 132."

53 K*RI* II, 100 §100.

54 See Brunner, *Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 194 ff.

55 Morenz, "Erwählung," 120 ff., esp. 125 ff.

kingship by the god. We have such accounts relating to Hatshepsut,[56] Thutmose III,[57] Thutmose IV[58] and Horemheb,[59] for example. The idea that the king is the chosen one of the god is also expressed in a very frequently used royal epithet that is often included in the king's Throne name, *Setepenre*, "whom Re (or another form of the sun god) has chosen"; Thutmose I, III, IV, Sety I, Ramesses II, Amenmesse, Sety II, Siptah, Sethnakht, Ramesses IV, VII, IX and X are all "whom Re has chosen,"[60] Ramesses IV is "whom Amun has chosen."[61] The epithet is also encountered outside the king's cartouche, for example Amenhotep II is "whom Amun-Re has chosen,"[62] Sety I is "whom Atum has chosen."[63] An epithet encountered with Thutmose IV is particularly informative; he is "whom Amun has chosen *from amongst the people*";[64] similarly, Amenhotep III is one "whom he (Amun) chose, *distinguished from millions*, to lead the people for eternity,"[65] and Amun says of Ramesses II, "I have chosen him *from amongst millions* to do that which pleases my *ka*."[66] These examples make it particularly clear that we are dealing here with divine election and that there were other people whom the deity could theoretically have chosen.

In connection with the state god, *i.e.* the sun god in one of his manifestations, the two concepts of sonship and divine image actually complement one another – as "image" of god the king represents the god and exercises his rule on earth, as "son" he possesses the divine attributes and qualities which make it possible for him to represent his divine father. The two concepts often appear juxtaposed.

On the base of Hatshepsut's northern standing obelisk at Karnak she is stated to be "the one whom Re begat in order to bring forth good fruit for him on earth, for the benefit of mankind; his living image,"[67] and centuries later Darius I can still be called "the offspring of Atum, the living image of Re, whom he has placed upon his throne to bring to a good end

[56] Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatschepsout*, §179a-§181; *Urk*. IV, 273.5 ff.

[57] *Urk*. IV, 156 ff.

[58] *Urk*. IV, 1542.10-1543.15.

[59] Gardiner, "Coronation of King Haremhab"; *Urk*. IV, 2113 ff.

[60] Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, T. I 135, T3; T. III 137, T8; T. IV 141, T5; S. I 151, T13; R. II 155 T9-11, 15; Amenmesse 159, T1 and 2; S. II 161, T1 and 2; Siptah 161, T2, 3 and 4; Sethnakht 165, T1,2,4,5-7; R. IV 169, T9 and 8; R.VII 173, T2-4; R. IX 173 T1-4; R X T1-4.

[61] Von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* 167, T1-8.

[62] *Urk*. IV, 1359.2 and 8.

[63] Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak* pl. 153.

[64] *Urk*. IV, 1550.11.

[65] *Urk*. IV, 1722.15-16.

[66] K*RI* II, 571.12.

[67] *Urk*. IV, 362.2-6.

that which he began on earth."[68]

In this context, we should cast our minds back to Hatshepsut's Deir el-Bahari text and the absence of the "Son of Re" title amongst her titulary – as mentioned earlier, she does not bear the title because she is not yet actually king, only crown prince and heir to the throne.

Conclusion

In summary, in evaluating the question of possible Egyptian influence in Isaiah 9:5, the data from the Deir el-Bahari text of Hatshepsut needs to be considered since it has a bearing on many of the arguments against such influence raised in the discourse so far. The nature of the Egyptian understanding of the relationship between god and king as it would have existed at the time when Israelite kingship was established, *i.e.* the early 1st millennium BCE, is characterised by the adoption principle, which would not have precluded it from being adopted as a model in Jerusalem. Thus the argument that the bestowal of four names on the child in Isaiah 9:5 cannot have been influenced by Egyptian practice because the Israelite view of kingship was distinct from that of Egypt cannot be sustained.

Abbreviations

K*RI* II Kitchen, K.A. *Ramesside Inscriptions: Historical and Biographical*. Vol. II. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.

Urk. IV Steindorff, G., ed. *Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums*. Abt. IV, K Sethe/W. Helck, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, reprint of 2nd ed. Berlin Akademie Verlag and Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt 1961; Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1955-61.

68 Yoyotte, " [Une statue de Darius découverte à Suse]," Text 2.

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Egyptian Imperialism after the New Kingdom. The 26th Dynasty and the Southern Levant[1]

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Abstract

The article draws attention to the foreign policy of the first kings of the 26th Dynasty and argues that Psammetichus I and his successor Necho II practiced a form of imperialism by establishing a system of vassal states in the Southern Levant for the first time since the New Kingdom. In the second stage of this imperial expansion, this system included the Kingdom of Judah, under the rule of King Josiah. From the Egyptian point of view, this kingdom was only a small and marginal entity in the Southern Levantine region and of little interest.

The foreign policy of the 26th Dynasty is important not only in the history of Egypt after the New Kingdom but also in that of the Southern Levant. For the first time since the end of the so-called "New Empire" Egyptian Pharaohs like Psammetichus I or Necho II developed an extensive foreign policy, which is documented in extra-Egyptian sources including Herodotus and the Hebrew Bible. In Jeremiah 44:30 Apries, the penultimate ruler of the 26th Dynasty, is mentioned by the name "Hophra" (חָפְרַע), while Jer 46:2 and four other biblical passages refer to the second ruler of that Dynasty, Necho II.[2] It is striking to note that he is the pharaoh most frequently named in the Hebrew Bible.[3] Apart from the statistical argument, Necho II's particular significance is seen in a notable episode. According to 2 Kings 23 Josiah, King of Judah, was killed by Necho II near Megiddo. The new king Jehoahaz – who had just been enthroned by the Judean aristocracy (the "people of the land") – was deposed by Necho II and held captive in his military camp in Riblah at the Orontes. Moreover, pharaoh Necho also controlled Judean succession, installing in his

1 I would like to express my gratitude to Michael Lesley for improving my English.

2 See 2 Kings 23:29, 33-35 and 2 Chr. 35:20-22; 36:4.

3 Five Egyptian pharaohs are mentioned in the Hebrew Bible: Shoshenq I (1 Kings 14:25; 2 Chr. 12:2,5,7; 1 Kings 11:40); Taharqa (2 Kings 19:9 = Isa 37:9), Necho II, Apries and probably Osorkon IV (2 Kings 17:4 – under the name סוֹא; for the problem of interpretation see Galpaz-Feller, "So," 338-47, with further literature); see Pfeiffer, *Ägypten*, 61-63. Excluded from this list are references to Egyptian pharaohs that are difficult to interpret, particularly in the book of Ezekiel; *cf.* Freedy and Redford, "Dates," 482 f., who perceived in Ez 30:10-22 an allusion to Apries' Nebty name.

place Josiah's older son, Eliakim, under the new name Jehoiakim.[4] These events, described in matter-of-fact terms in 2 Kings, are quite astonishing. How could an Egyptian Pharaoh govern succession in a kingdom in the Southern Levant? And what were the circumstances under which Josiah, king of Judah, ended up getting killed by the pharaoh at Megiddo?[5]

In what follows I would like to advance the thesis that the two first pharaohs of the 26th Dynasty, Psammetichus I and Necho II, practised a form of imperialism by establishing a system of vassal states in the Southern Levant for the first time since the New Kingdom – which, in a later stage, included the Kingdom of Judah.[6] The first chapter offers a brief overview of the historical situation in the 7th century BCE, and is followed by an examination of the archaeological evidence. The final section is an evaluation of the significance of the Egyptian domination on the Kingdom of Judah and on its rulers, Josiah and Jehoiakim.[7]

I. The Southern Levant of the 7th Century BCE

The historical situation in the first decades of the 7th century is determined by the so-called "westward expansion" of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. From the 9th to 7th centuries the Assyrian kings gradually subordinated the entire Levant, first the Northern Syrian states, followed by the Phoenician cities, the Kingdom of Israel, and finally the Kingdom of Judah and the Philistine territory.[8] The small city-states of Syria-Palestine, including the Phoenician cities on the Mediterranean, formed alliances in hopes of resisting Assyrian expansion. This particularly affected the Kingdom of Israel in the 9th and 8th century, which, having joined anti-Assyrian coalitions drew the attention, and finally the wrath, of the Neo-Assyrian Kings. There is an underlying geopolitical principle in the history of the Syro-Palestinian isthmus in the first part of the 1st millennium BCE: the empires of the Ancient Near East, whether Assyrian, Egyptian or, later, Neo-Babylonian, were not interested in running political entities, but in controlling over-

[4] See Miller and Hayes, *History* (2nd edition), 460-62.

[5] There are countless theories about Josiah's death, from a battle at Megiddo to the idea that, as an Egyptian vassal, Josiah wanted to render an oath of loyalty to the new pharaoh. See Na'aman, "Kingdom," 52 f. For an earlier view see Noth, *History*, 289 f.

[6] Miller and Hayes, *History* (1st Edition), 383-85, 388-90; Na'aman, "Kingdom," 38-41, and Lipschitz, *Fall*, 23-39. For a broader discussion of the evidence see Schipper, "Egypt".

[7] The following chapters present the results from a more elaborated discussion of the material, Schipper, "Egypt."

[8] See Mayer, *Politik*, Chapters 8 and 9, and Lamprichs, *Westexpansion*, Ch. 4.1.2.

land trade routes, in having access to the international sea trade, and in preserving small buffer zones against the enemy, whether to the South (Egypt to the Syrians) or in the North (Assyria or Babylonia to the Egyptians).[9] It appears that the more small city-states organized, the more powerfully the Assyrians responded, culminating in their incorporation of these city-states or kingdoms into their empire.

After the fall of Samaria, the capital of the Israelite kingdom, in 720 BCE, the Assyrian expansion under Sargon II and Sennacherib was reoriented southward, toward the Kingdom of Judah, the Philistines, and Egypt.[10] The Egyptian pharaohs, meanwhile, had expanded beyond Egyptian territory and had also laid claim to part of the Syro-Palestinian isthmus.[11] When the Assyrian kings encountered Egypt, it was under the leadership of the Kushite Pharaos of the 25th Dynasty who ruled a centralized power for the first time since the New Kingdom.[12] In the year 716 BCE king Shabako of Kush succeeded in bringing an end to the so-called Third Intermediate Period with its multiple simultaneous rulers by establishing a new dynasty in Thebes.[13] This new dynasty set the stage for the conflict of the following decades between the Kushites and the Assyrians. An Egyptian military contingent joined a coalition of Southern Levantine rulers against the Assyrian army under Sennacherib at the battle of Eltheke. As a result the Assyrians marched steadily towards Egypt. Over five campaigns against the Kushite pharaohs the Assyrian rulers gradually conquered Egypt, and, with the fall of Thebes in 664 BCE, brought to an end the 25th Dynasty.[14] Assyrian policy was not to leave the conquered territory alone, but to enthrone local chiefs as vassals.[15] This was the situation for the two rulers of the royal house of Sais in the western Delta mentioned above, Necho I, and his son Psammetichus. According to the Assyrian sources Necho was first imprisoned and deported to Assyria, but in the end was formally enthroned in Sais as an Assyrian vassal.[16] Psammetichus is also mentioned in Assyrian sources, as having been appointed in Athri-

[9] See Schipper, *Israel*, 288-90.

[10] Miller and Hayes, *History* (2nd edition), 392 f.

[11] See Kahn, "Invasions," 252 f., who pointed out that Assyrian Policy under Esarhaddon was more a reaction on the Kushite Expansion.

[12] See Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 378 f.

[13] Schipper, *Israel*, 199.

[14] Onasch, *Eroberungen*, 169, with chronology, and Kahn, "Invasions," 264 f.

[15] On the policy of Assyrian kings in the occupied territory, see Machinist, "Art. Palestine, Administration," 70 f.

[16] See Onasch, *Eroberungen*, 154; for a discussion of the evidence see Kahn, "Invasions," 260 f.

bis.[17] Within a short time, however – from 664 to 656 BCE – Psammetichus was able to free himself from Assyrian rule and expand his control over Egypt. Assyrian sources explain the situation behind this development; according to the Rassam-Cylinder of Assurbanipal (Prisma A) Psammetichus received support from Gyges of Lydia: "He (Gyges of Lydia) sent his forces to the aid of Pischamilki, King of Egypt, who had thrown off the yoke of my sovereignty."[18]

Given the evidence from other sources, it is clear that Gyges of Lydia sent Greek and Ionian mercenaries to Psammetichus (called Pischamilki in the text) as part of a compact between the two leaders, making it possible for him to gain control over Egypt.[19] These Greek mercenaries are attested to in Herodotus[20] and are also supported by archaeological evidence. A number of funeral stelae found in Memphis were erected to Carian soldiers. These stelae contain bilingual inscriptions (Carian-Egyptian), and date from the middle of the 7th century onwards.[21] The other factor that made it possible for Psammetichus to extricate himself from Assyrian rule was the larger political situation in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Because of the so-called "fratricidal war" from 652 to 648 BCE between Assurbanipal and Šamaššumukīn, vice-king of Babylon, and the struggle with Elam in 647-646 BCE, Assyrian power in the Southern Levant was crippled.[22] The exact date of the termination of Egypt's status as a vassal is unknown, but the facts show that after Egypt was reunited in 656 (his 9th year),[23] Psammetichus consolidated his power inside Egypt and then penetrated into formerly Assyrian dominated territory, the Southern Levant.

The exact date of the Egyptian expansion is also unclear since it is unknown when the Assyrians had to retreat from the territory south of the Euphrates.[24] According to the sources the Assyrians were active in the Southern Levant in about 643/2 BCE, when Assurbanipal put down rebellions in Tyre

[17] The Assyrians adopted an Egyptian tradition whereby the heir to throne ruled in Athribis; Onasch, *Eroberungen*, 154; Spalinger, "Psammetichus," 133.

[18] See Luckenbill, *Records*, § 785, p. 298 and Kammerzell, *Studien*, 112, with a new translation.

[19] Haider, "Quellen," 197.

[20] See Herodotus, II 152 who speaks of the "iron men."

[21] See Kammerzell, *Studien*, 118, Haider, "Quellen," 199 and Spalinger, "Art. Psammetichus I," 1166.

[22] Mayer, *Politik*, 403 f.

[23] Spalinger, "Psammetichus," 130 and Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, 403 f.

[24] For the chronology of the Assyrian kings in this time and the problem of the lack of royal inscriptions for the last regnal years of Assurbanipal and his followers see Na'aman, "Chronology," 265.

and Akko and deported parts of the inhabitants to Assyria.[25] The next secure date is 616 BCE, when the Assyrians found themselves in a crisis. The fratricidal war showed that the new Neo-Babylonian rulers were seeking independence and were each interested in making inroads into the Assyrian heartland. The Babylonian chronicle for the year 616 reports a military conflict between the king of Babylon, Nabopolassar, and the Assyrian king Sinsharishkun, where, remarkably, an Egyptian army comes to the aid of the Assyrians.[26] From a historical point of view this marks a paradigm shift, as, only forty years after his reunification of Egypt, the former vassal entered northern Syria to help the Assyrians. According to Assyrian sources, Psammetichus marched with an army and besieged the Babylonian fortress of Tekrit near the Tigris.[27] Even though the attack did not succeed – in the following years the Babylonians conquered Aššur (614 BCE) and Nineveh (612 BCE) – it shows that during this period Psammetichus I had enlarged his territory so far into the Southern Levant that he felt it necessary to preserve the rest of the former Assyrian Empire as a buffer against the Neo-Babylonians.[28] The subsequent conflicts also took place in this region, not far away from the city of Carchemish. In the year 606 BCE Nabopolassar made a fresh advance and conquered the city of Kumehun.[29] On the Egyptian side he faced Necho II, who had succeeded Psammetichus I in 610. Having repelled the Babylonians the first time, Necho II lost the battle of Carchemish to the Babylonian army under the crown prince Nebuchadnezzar.[30] Necho was forced to retreat back to Egypt, and the Southern Levant came under Babylonian control.

A document from this period, an Aramaic letter from the ruler of Ekron to the Pharaoh, offers an insider's view of how Egyptian Pharaohs controlled occupied territory:[31]

> *That I have written to the Lord of the kings is to inform him that the forces of the king of Babylon have come and reached Aphek.*

In what follows Adon asks the Pharaoh to "send a force to rescue me" (line 7) and mentions a specific reason:

[25] See Machinist, "Art. Palestine, Administration," 74, and for a detailed discussion Spalinger, "Psammetichus," 134 f.

[26] See the Chonik Gadd (BM 21901), Line 10 f. Grayson, *Chronicles*, 91.

[27] Lipschitz, *Fall*, 16 f.; Spalinger, "Psammetichus," 133 ff.

[28] See Schipper, *Israel*, 230 and Spalinger, "Egypt," 224, who supposed an alliance between Assyria and Egypt.

[29] Klengel, *Syria*, 231.

[30] Lipschitz, *Fall*, 32-34.

[31] See for the translation Porten, "Identity," 36. The papyrus includes a line in Demotic which mentions the name of the chief of Ekron, Adon; see Porten, "Identity," 43.

> *"Do not abandon me, for your servant did not violate the treaty of the Lord of Kings, and your servant preserved his good relations."*

Joseph Fitzmyer has drawn attention to the terminology of the letter, which is comparable to that of Assyrian vassal treaties describing the relationship between vassal and patron.[32] According to these treaties, the vassal pays tribute and the patron guarantees military protection. It seems, therefore, that at the end of the 7th century there were Egyptian-controlled vassal states in some parts, or perhaps in all of the Southern Levant. The question is when exactly this Egyptian influence began and how to figure out the organisation of the area.

2. Egyptian Imperialism – The Archeological Evidence

The archaeological evidence includes a wide range of material that points to strong Egyptian influence in the last third of the 7th century. These include objects relating to the Pharaohs, like scarabs with the royal cartouche, miscellaneous Egyptian objects from various sites (Ashkelon, Ekron), Greek pottery, and evidence from the fortress of Mezad Hashavyahu.

Among the Egyptian scarabs in Southern Palestine a few containing royal names are of special interest. Four scarabs from Psammetichus I were found at sites on the Mediterranean seaboard and in the Shephelah (Achzib, Tel Yavne-Yam, Tell Zakariyya and Gezer),[33] while a basalt fragment with Necho II's cartouche was found at the Phoenician city of Sidon.[34] These are just a few among many objects in a general increase of Egyptian artefacts in the Southern Levant from the last decades of the 7th century. Included among these were also the so-called "Saitic" New Year's bottles. These bottles, which were typical of the Saite period, are 7-21 cm high, decorated with blessings for a good new year, and filled with water from the Nile.[35] Fragments of these New Year's bottles were found in Megiddo and in Ashdod, including both bottles typically traded to locations outside Egypt and bottles of the inner-Egyptian type.[36]

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32 Fitzmyer, "Aramaic," 231 ff.; Porten, "Identity," 39; for the phraseology of vassal treaties, see Parpola and Watanabe, *Treaties*, 76 f.

33 See the list in Schipper, "Egypt"; Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 134 (Tafel 48,1) and Rowe, *Catalogue*, 209 f. Of interest is also a ring from Carchemish with the name of Psammetichus I, see Keel, *Corpus*, 38 f.

34 For a collection of the material see Schipper, *Israel*, 238, n. 249 and Schipper, "Egypt." A seal in the form of a human head with the name of Apries was found in an antiquities shop in Jerusalem, see Keel, *Jerusalem*, 413 f. with fig. 430.

35 For further evidence see Felder, *Pilger- und Neujahrsflaschen*, 85.90-93.

36 For the material from Ashdod see Dothan, *Ashdod II-III*, 21, Table 3:13. For the distribution of New Year's bottles see Hölbl, *Beziehungen*, 34, including refer-

Moving from small artefacts to more general evidence, the Philistine city of Ashkelon is important. During the excavations led by Lawrence E. Stager a remarkable number of Egyptian objects were found: a theriomorphic bronze offering table, a bronze statuette of the god Osiris, and bronze situlae of deities like Hathor, Nefertem, Amun and the ityphallic Atum.[37] Since all of these objects are related to the cult, Stager has argued that the city must have served as an Egyptian enclave with its own Egyptian sanctuary.[38] The strong Egyptian influence is also supported by a number of Egyptian scarabs with iconography typical of the 26th Dynasty, like the goddess Sachmet, who also appears on the scarab of Psammetichus I from Achzib mentioned above;[39] another depicts the king bearing the red crown and the hieroglyphic sign *z3*, assuring the bearer of the object the protection of the pharaoh.[40]

Strong Egyptian influence is also attested to in Ekron, a Philistine city in the Shephelah. In a side room of the so-called "Temple 650" a number of Egyptian objects were found, including pieces from the Late Period and the New Kingdom: an ivory knob with the cartouche of Ramesses VIII, a golden uraeus (of 23cm length), a Ptah-Patecus faience amulet, and a unique 40cm long carved elephant tusk with a relief of a large female figure and the cartouche of pharaoh Merneptah.[41] Given that Strata IB was destroyed at the end of the 7th century and the aforementioned Aramaic letter was sent by the ruler of Ekron, it becomes clear that Ekron had been under Egyptian control and was among the Egyptian dominated vassal states of the Southern Levant.[42]

The evidence of Ekron and Ashkelon should be understood in a wider archaeological context, including the well-known collection of Greek pottery.[43] In the middle of the 7th century a number of pieces of pottery from Eastern Greece first appeared in the Southern Levant. Two types of these are of special interest: Ionian bowls and jars of the so-called "Wild Goat Style II."[44] Their distribution reveals an interesting pattern: a concentration at the seaboard, running from the North (Achzib, Tel Kabri, Akko) to the Egyptian border (Tell

ences to the findings from Carchemish, Byblos, Lahun, Ephesus, Karthago and the Greek colonies at the Black Sea.

[37] Stager, "Ashkelon," 68* f. with fig. 13 A + B.

[38] Stager, "Ashkelon," 69*.

[39] See fig. 1; Keel, *Corpus*, 38 (No. 52).

[40] See fig. 2; for a broader interpretation see Keel, *Corpus*, 722(No. 89).

[41] Gitin, "Hegemony," 173 f.

[42] For an interpretation of the archaeological evidence and the distinction between an Assyrian stratum (IC) and an Egyptian (IB) see Gitin, "Hegemony," 173.

[43] *Cf.* Fantalkin, "Chronology," 117-25.

[44] Wenning, "Söldner," 261.




Figs. 1 and 2 Scarabs from Achzib and Ashkelon. Courtesy of Othmar Keel.

Jemmeh, Tell el Far'ah South); some in the Shephelah (Gezer) and the Negev (Arad), and a scattering inland (En-Gedi, Tel Malhata).[45] The distribution clearly shows a concentration on the coast, with 42 pieces in Tel Keisan, 48 in Mezad Hashavyahu, 36 in Ashkelon and 56 in Dor.[46] What is most important about these finds, however, is that they include not only luxury goods, which could be explained through international trade contact, but also everyday objects and Greek cooking pots. This everyday pottery, the so-called "cooking pots of the Chytra-type" were found in Ashkelon, Tel Batash, Shiqmona, and in remarkable concentration in Mezad Hashavyahu, with 18 pieces, and in Tel Kabri, with 12 pieces.[47]

This concentration of everyday pottery indicates the presence of Greeks at the site.[48] Against the backdrop of the relationship between the 26th Dynasty – Psammetichus I in particular – and the Greeks there is a strong probability that the presence of Greeks in the Southern Levant is tied to Egyptian expansion. The Greek connection to Psammetichus I is underscored by an Ionian shield which was discovered at the battlefield at Carchemish.[49]

Further evidence is found at the fortress of Mezad Hashavyahu. Close to the Mediterranean Sea, this fortress was founded in the last quarter of the 7th century, and

[45] Wenning, "Söldner," 260 and the map on 266 (fig. 1).

[46] See Wenning, "Söldner," 260 and the overview at Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 76 ff. For the Greek pottery in Ashkelon see Stager, "Ashkelon," 67*.

[47] For the distribution see Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 84, Wenning, "Einfluss," 31 and Wenning "Söldner," 266 (Abb. 1 = Fig. 3 of the present article).

[48] See Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 145 f., and Niemeyer, "Greek," 14-16 with a list of locations where Greek traders are presumed to have been (and on 13, fig. 1).

[49] See Woolley, *Carcemish II*, pl. 24 (Ionian shield from house D).

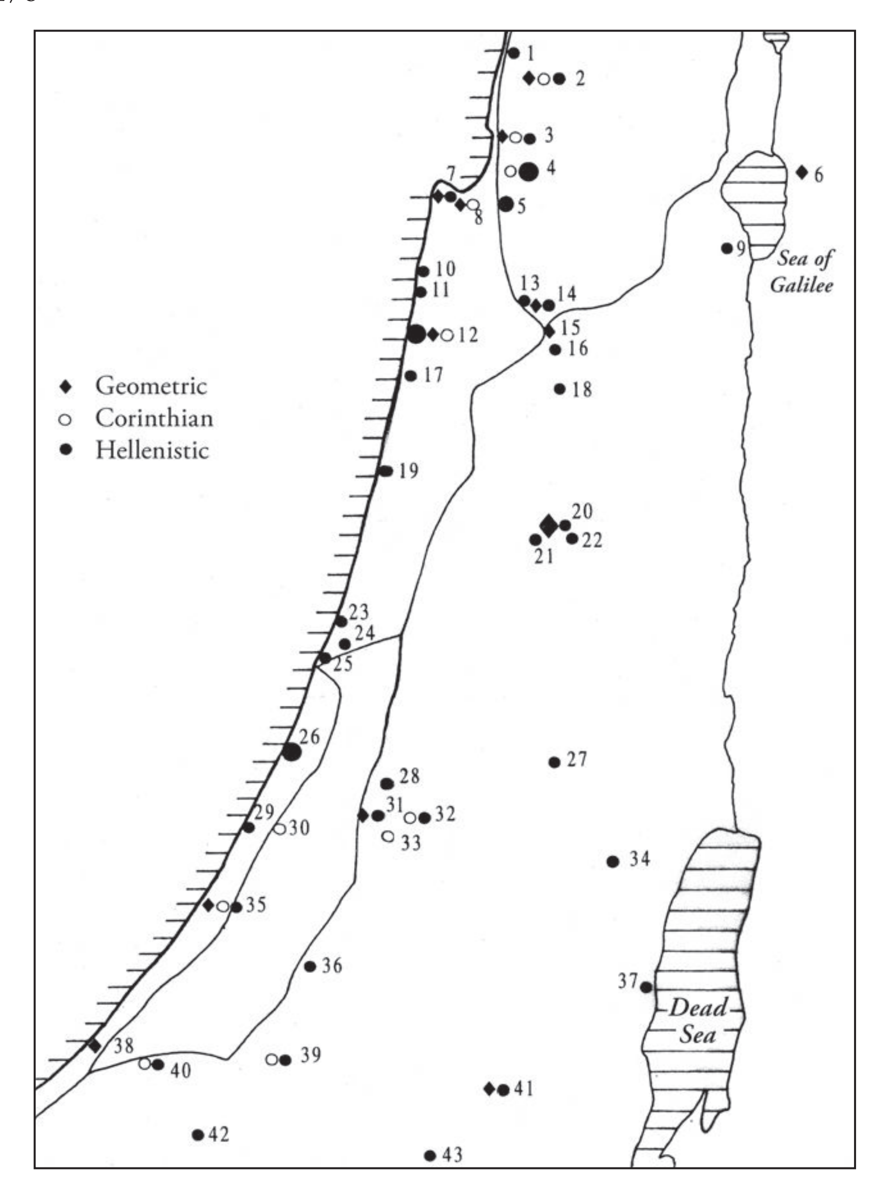


Fig. 3 Distribution Greek pottery / East Greek. Courtesy of Robert Wenning.

was abandoned around the year 600 BCE.[50] Because of the Greek cooking pots and a forge found at the site, scholarly consensus holds that the inhabitants of Mezad Hashavyahu were Greek mercenar-

[50] This date is made on the basis of three jar fragments in the Greek "animal frieze" style ceramic; *cf.* Wenning, "Söldner," 261 and Wenning, "Einfluss," 31 f. with a more detailed discussion of Fantalkin's argumentation in n. 13, who does not consider these findings in his dating of Mezad Hashavyahu.

ies.[51] Moreover, the construction of the fortress is not related to the typical fortresses of the Southern Levant, but, according to Alexander Fantalkin, corresponds to the Egyptian fortress of Semna el-Gharb, in Nubia.[52] At the same time the origins of the pottery are rather surprising, including a high concentration of local Palestine ware:[53] 46% of the pottery is Greek and 53% is local Palestine ware, while only 1% is of Egyptian provenance.[54] The Palestinian pottery is also found in Jerusalem (Ophel), Ekron, Tel Batash, Hazor, Lachish, Ramat Rahel, Beerscheba, Arad, and Tel Mevorakh, lending credence to the assumption that there must have been contact with the Kingdom of Judah.[55] This contact is also supported by the discovery of a stone weight and a number of objects inscribed in Hebrew. Some ostraca have names that include the element JH, referring to the god JHWH, which identify the bearer as a worshipper of this god.[56] This, alongside the high concentration of the local Palestinian pottery, indicates the presence of Judeans in Mezad Hashavyahu. In one ostracon, however, a certain Anibaal is mentioned, a personal name with the -Ba'al element, something that could not be connected with a Judean.[57] Evidently the population of Mezad Hashavyahu was a mix of Judeans, non-Judeans and Greeks. According to the ostraca these men worked in grain cultivation for the Greek-Egyptian administration. This is attested to in the well-known "Juridicial Plea from Mezad Hashavjahu" (petition of a harvester, ostracon 1). The often studied text has been palaeographically dated to the 7th century BCE and reports the petition of a workman (*qṣr*) to a high official who, given the specific use of the word *sr* with an article (השר), must have been the commander of the fortress.[58] According to the text a certain Hoshavjahu (probably a foreman) kept a workman's robe.[59] A number of explanations have been proposed for the grounds behind the petition, including a law from the Hebrew Bible (Ex 22:25f.),[60] but in

51 Wenning, "Söldner," 262.

52 The complex dates back to the 12th Dynasty but was used in the 25th Dynasty, Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 48 f., and Emery, *Egypt*, 220.

53 This was already assumed by Naveh, "Excavations," 99 f.

54 Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 103 (fig. 35).

55 For further evidence, see Fantalkin, "Mezad Hashavjahu," 53-74.

56 Renz, *Inschriften*, 326, 331, 334, and for the finds Wenning, "Mesad Hašavyāhū," 179 f.

57 For ostracon 6 see Renz, *Inschriften*, 323 f., and for an interpretation see Rüterswörden, "Deuteronomium," 242.

58 For a dicussion of this title see Renz, *Inschriften*, 323, Anm. 2 and Weippert, "Petition," 459 f., n. 25.

59 Weippert, "Petition."

60 A legal right that a piece of clothing given as a pledge be returned at night; *cf.*

a detailed analysis of the ostracon Udo Rüterswörden has recently shown that the petition reflects a more general law.[61] Given that the letter does not include a salutation with reference to the god JHWH,[62] the addressee was not a Judean or a worshipper of the Israelite god. This would lend support to an assumption that Mezad Hashavyahu was an Egyptian fortress with Greek mercenaries and an Egyptian-Greek commander.

The harvester's petition also offers some information about the organisation of the possibly Egyptian vassal state. According to the text the petitioner fulfilled his duty in Hasar Asam (presumably a farmstead near the fortress), meaning that he measured the harvest and stored it in a shelter.[63] Judean and non-Judean workers were probably used to deliver grain for the Egyptian-Greek garrison. The Hebrew word כול, "measuring," the harvest is typical for a tribute system.[64] The existence of such a tribute system, in which local workman had to donate grain to an Egyptian-Greek administration, is also supported by the hieratic signs found on some ostraca.[65]

This evidence becomes more interesting when it is considered in light of an Egyptian inscription, the Serapeum stela from the 52nd year of Psammetichus I. There has been a great deal of recent study on this text, but until now it has not been read in light of the evidence from Mezad Hashavyahu.[66] The text on the stela elaborately portrays the funeral of the Apis-bull, depicting the embalming of the bull and the construction of the coffins by foreign craftsmen.[67] Of special interest are lines 9 and 10:

> *His coffins are from qd-, mr- and cedarwood, One chosen from each district*[68]*, since his princes (wr=sn) are dependents of the palace, in that there is a royal overseer over them. Their donations (bꜣk.w) are designated for the residence, as (is the case) in Egypt.*

The text recounts the construction of coffins from different types of wood with specific terminology.[69]

Renz, *Inschriften*, 321.

[61] See Rüterswörden, "Deuteronomium," 246 f.

[62] The existence of salutations with JHWH is attested to in a contemporary ostracon from the Mousaieff collection; see Lindenberger, *Letters*, 110 f.

[63] See Renz, *Inschriften*, 321, line 4-5.

[64] Talmon, "Letter," 84 f., which comes from a type of socage. So too Cross, "Notes," 45.

[65] For further discussion see Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 78-81.

[66] See for example Spalinger, "Egypt," 228 f. and Na'aman, "Kingdom," 46 f.

[67] See the Hieroglyphic text in the two editions of Mariette, *Oeuvres*, 248 f., and Chassinat, "Textes," 166.

[68] Read *ẖt.jw* instead of *ẖt*; see Freedy and Redford, "Dates," 477, n. 71 for further evidence.

[69] According to the plural *qꜣw.wt=f* the text mentions different coffins and not a

Cedarwood and *mr*-wood are from Syria-Palestine.[70] The term *wr* is the classical technical term for the chiefs of Syria-Palestine. Against the backdrop of Mezad Hashavyahu, though, the word *b3k.w* is of greater interest. The word indicates a tribute in the sense of regular taxes and is used in Egyptian sources to denote the taxes of a territory that is under Egyptian administration.[71] This means that the Serapeum stela is not referring to a one-time tribute but to official taxes that were to be paid regularly.[72]

Interpretation of the evidence considered so far leads to the following picture: after the year 640 BCE (probably 630)[73] Psammetichus I gradually penetrated into formerly Assyrian-dominated territory in the Southern Levant by concentrating especially on the seaboard, primarily on the city of Ashkelon. At the same time or somewhat later he controlled the city of Ekron and, probably at a later stage, around the year 615 BCE, founded a garrison for his Greek mercenaries alongside Mezad Hashavyahu. During this period – by 612 BCE at the latest – Psammetichus I created a system of vassal states in the Southern Levant in which local chiefs were required to pay taxes to the Egyptians in exchange for military protection, according to the Ekron letter. The important question is at what point in Psammetichus I's reign does this system of vassalage include the Kingdom of Judah. This has important consequences for the interpretation of the events of 609 BCE and the death of Josiah.

3. The Kingdom of Judah and Egypt

The presence of Judeans in Mezad Hashavyahu, as indicated by the Hebrew ostraca, points to the possibility that the Kingdom of Judah was part of the Egyptian vassalage. For palaeographic reasons, however, the ostraca should be dated to the last quarter of the 7th century BCE, meaning that it is unclear whether they belong to the time of King Josiah or to his successor Jehoiakim. The broader evidence from Hebrew ostraca in Ancient Palestine shows Judean administrative dependence on Egypt, but gives no clue as to whether Egypt under Psammetichus I actually dominated the Kingdom of Judah. Among the ostraca, the pieces from the Judean fortress of Arad and the fortress of Kadesh-Barnea in

single one made of different woods. Contra Freedy and Redford, "Dates," 477.

70 See the Narrative of Wenamon, Schipper, *Erzählung*, 168 f.; for the *mr*-wood, see *WB* II, 108.

71 See Kubisch, "Überblick," 80, who draws attention to the distinction between *b3k* and the word *jnw* which marks a single donation. See also Warburton, *State*, 221 ff., 237 ff.

72 Müller-Wollermann, "Steuern," 101.

73 The starting point was probably the death of Assurbanipal in 631 BCE; see Schipper, "Egypt."

the Negev are of further interest. In both sites a number of Hebrew inscriptions were found that bear Egyptian-Hieratic numerals. Such Hieratic numerals are common in Hebrew ostraca from the 8th century onwards,[74] but the ostraca of Arad and Kadesh-Barnea have a unique significance due to the quantity of pieces with Hieratic numerals. The Arad-Ostrakon 31 for example, has an interesting combination of Hebrew and Hieratic signs:[75] the text, a delivery note for wheat, uses the Hebrew units *ephah* and *homer* and a number of Egyptian numerals.[76] Another is Arad Ostracon 34.[77] This large ostracon is a detailed list of wine and barley written only in Hieratic characters, and contains nearly the entire system of Hieratic numbers. Such an ostracon from a Judean site indicates close contact between Judah and Egypt. The same could be said of the inscriptions on ostraca from Tell el-Qudeirat, a site which stands apart in many respects.[78] Four of the ostraca contain Hieratic characters. Among these, ostracon No. 6 is a very interesting piece, with six columns of Hieratic numbers. The numbers include nearly the whole Hieratic numeral system, from 1 to 10,000, combined with Hebrew signs like *šeqel* and *homer*.[79] André Lemaire and Pascal Vernus have argued that the combination of Egyptian and Hebrew characters should be interpreted as a writing exercise.[80] This assumption is supported by ostracon 4 from Tell el-Qudeirat, on which the number 2382 is written in Hieratic characters a number of times.[81] In his recently published study on so-called "Palestine Hieratic," Stefan Wimmer has shown that the hieratic signs in late 7th century Hebrew inscriptions are oriented on the so-called Abnormal Hieratic and early-Demotic – the same script, in other words, that is found in contemporary Egyptian evidence.[82] Such evidence could hardly be explained simply through trade relations with Egypt. Rather, it indicates closer contact with Egypt and leads to the assumption that at the end of the 7th century Tell el-Qudeirat and Arad were among the Egyptian-dominated vassal states.

[74] The use of the Egypt measure units *jp.t* and *hqꜣ.t* is documented in ostraca from Arad, Tell Gemme and Hirbet el Kom, see Schipper, *Israel*, 255, n. 359.

[75] Renz, *Inschriften*, 291 f.; for a discussion of the Arad inscriptions and Hieratic numerals see Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 26-59.

[76] See the new evaluation by Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 39 f.

[77] Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 42-46.

[78] For a broader discussion of the archaeological evidence, and on the question of whether Tell el-Qudeirat, which is mentioned in the Bible under the name Kadesh-Barnea, belongs to Judah or to the Egyptian dominated territory see Schipper, "Hintergrund."

[79] Renz, *Inschriften*, 341-43 and Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 103-13.

[80] Lemaire and Vernus, "Ostraca," 344 f.

[81] Renz, *Inschriften*, 340.

[82] Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 279.

The so-called "fiscal seals" from Judah support the preceding conclusion, and also make it possible to date the aforementioned Egyptian tax policy in Judah to the period of King Josiah. The fiscal seals are imprints of seals found on bullae.[83] Four of the seventeen pieces are of particular interest in this context. All four have nearly identical inscriptions, but contain different dates and locations: seal 11 bears the text: "in the 14th year from Lachish to the king"; seal 12: "in the 19th year from Gebim to the king"; seal 13 "in the 20th year from Nasib to the king"; and on seal 14 we can read "in the 26th year from Eltolad to the king."[84] In each case the date is written in Hieratic characters. Seal 11 also bears the Hebrew word ראשני "the first crop," a technical term used in fiscal administration. מכס in seal 17, is also a technical term, meaning "tax."[85] These fiscal seals presume a tax system which must be dated to the reign of King Josiah, as he was the only king in the second half of the 7th century BCE to rule more than 19 years.[86] According to 2 Kings 22:1 Josiah reigned 31 years, and therefore seals 12 and 14 could only be referring to him. Since these seals can hardly be separated from the wider corpus of the fiscal bullae, the corpus as a whole should be dated to the time of Josiah.[87] All of this is even more striking in light of a newly published ostracon from the collection of Shlomo Moussaieff of London. The ostracon, which was recently published by Stefan Wimmer, dates to the final decades of the 7th century BCE and bears the inscription *b-30.šnh.* (in the 30th year) and the series of letters *w-l-prʿh* "and to (the) Pharaoh."[88] If the ostracon is dated to Josiah's reign because of the date of the 30th year, we would have strong support for the assumption that under Josiah the Kingdom of Judah had to pay tribute to Egypt. If this is so, two other ostraca also published by Wimmer are of further interest. The Jeselsohn ostracon "*la-'erkach*" from the late 7th century bears a combination of Hieratic numerals and Hebrew characters and mentions the receipt of a silver payment.[89] The Moussaieff Ostracon "List" is very similar, and in its twenty-seven lines includes both a personal name written in Hebrew and a number (in Hieratic). Both of these refer to dues given by the respective individuals to an official

[83] See Avigad and Sass, *Corpus*, 177 f. (No. 421 + 422) and Röllig, *Siegel*, 415-22.

[84] Röllig, *Siegel*, 419 f.

[85] Röllig, *Siegel*, 422.

[86] Manasseh of Judah (698-644 BCE), the king with the longest reign, dates to the first part of the 7th century, see Miller and Hayes, *History* (2nd edition), 421.

[87] Rüterswörden, "Deuteronomium," 246 and Röllig, *Siegel*, 420.

[88] Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 87; for the fiscal bullae, 156 f.

[89] Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 68 f.

named Azaryahu.[90]

To summarize the evidence thus far, it appears a tax system was in use under King Josiah that was directly attributable to Judah's status as an Egyptian vassal. The lack of evidence for this in the Old Testament is not surprising, though, as the narrative about Josiah in 2 Kings 22-23 concentrates on his reform of the cult and is interested in describing Josiah as a good king *vis-à-vis* JHWH.[91]

Against the backdrop of the evidence, the much debated account of Josiah's death in 2 Kings 23:29 is cast in another light. The account states that Josiah "went towards" to meet Necho, who killed him.[92] However, the Hebrew phrase וַיֵּלֶךְ לִקְרָאתוֹ is not very informative since it does not imply a hostile movement, but simply going towards in a neutral sense, as can be seen, *e.g.*, in Gen 24:65.[93] The wording of the text does not support the often advanced interpretation of a battle at Megiddo in which Josiah fought the Egyptian army under Necho II.[94] A more likely scenario might have been as follows: after Necho II succeeded Psammetichus I in 610 BCE, Josiah, the Judean Egyptian vassal, went to meet the new pharaoh on the latter's first march to Syria-Palestine in 609.[95] Necho II met Josiah at the traditional Egyptian base of Meggido,[96] killed him for unknown reasons, and then continued onwards to the Orontes. The events that followed this also work within the framework of this scenario. The Judean aristocracy (the so-called "people of the land") enthroned Jehoahaz as their new king, and as such his first duty was to pay a visit to the Egyptian Pharaoh, who was now in Riblah at the Orontes. Necho II deposed him and instead enthroned the older son of Josiah, Eliakim, and gave him the name Jehoiakim.[97] Like the Assyrian kings had done with his father, Psammetichus I, and his grandfather, Necho I, the Egyptian pha-

[90] Wimmer, *Hieratisch*, 86, and, for a detailed evaluation of the personal names, see Heide, "Listenostrakon," 405-10. A problem touches the authenticity of the Moussaieff material, which comes from the antiquities market, meaning their provenance is unknown and their value for some scholars disputable.

[91] See Spieckermann, *Juda*, 42 f.

[92] The parallel account in 2 Chr 35:20-24 fleshed out the account, calling it a military encounter against the will of JHWH in which the good king is punished with death. Josephus, *Ant X 74-77*, claims that Josiah was killed by Egyptian archers. Neither text offers any historical information, though; *cf.* Schipper, *Israel*, 234 f.

[93] Talshir, "Deaths," 217.

[94] For an outline, see Na'aman, "Kingdom," 51, and 52, with n. 71.

[95] Na'aman, "Kingdom," 52 f. suggests that Josiah had to swear a vassal oath to the new pharaoh.

[96] Megiddo was one of the main targets in the campaign of Shoshenq I, see Schipper, *Israel*, 129-32.

[97] Miller and Hayes, *History* (2nd edition), 460-62.

raoh also exercised personal control over the vassal state by appointing a new ruler of his choice.

It is still unclear in exactly which year the Kingdom of Judah came under Egyptian dominion. It could possibly be related to the foundation of the fortress of Mezad Hashavyahu, with its Judean workmen, in about 615 BCE. Such a late date would correspond to the ostracon from the Moussaieff collection that refers to a tribute to the Egyptian pharaoh in the 30th year of the king – Josiah's penultimate year (610).[98]

4. The 26th Dynasty and the Southern Levant

In light of the evidence discussed above, it seems Psammetichus I established a system of Egyptian controlled vassal states in the Southern Levant in the last third of the 7th century BCE. As during Egyptian reunification, he did so with the help of his Greek mercenaries and founded the fortress of Mezad Hashavyahu for them as a military garrison. In Josiah's last years the Kingdom of Judah came under Egyptian control. Even though the exact historical circumstances are unclear it seems likely that this status meant primarily that Judah had to pay taxes and send workmen to Egyptian bases like Mezad Hashavyahu (and probably also Tell el-Qudeirat).[99] According to the historical sketch the Egyptians do not appear to have had much further interest in the Kingdom of Judah. This can be seen in the events of 609 BCE, in which the kings of Judah – first Josiah, then Jehoahaz – had to come to the camp of the Egyptian pharaoh, while the Egyptian king did not visit Jerusalem. For Egypt the Kingdom of Judah was a small and marginal entity in the Southern Levantine region, and was probably only of interest because of its control of the Negev route, via the fortress of Arad. On the whole the pharaohs of the 26th Dynasty were more interested in the main trade-routes and in the coastal plain where they had bases and important vassals like Ashkelon and Ekron.[100]

According to the Hebrew Bible, the relationship was viewed very differently in Judah. A number of texts show that some at the royal court in Jerusalem in the late 7th and early 6th century were oriented to Egypt and expected Egyptian aid during the conflict with Babylon. According to Jeremiah 38 there was a pro-Egyptian party in

[98] The earliest date of the fiscal seal is the year 3, which hardly agrees with the historical finding that Josiah began his reign in 639.

[99] For a further evaluation see Schipper, "Hintergrund," and for the archaeological evidence see Cohen and Bernick-Greenberg, *Excavations*.

[100] For the general aims of Egyptian policy in the southern Levant see Schipper, *Israel*, 246 f.

Jerusalem that emigrated to Egypt shortly after the Babylonian conquest of 587/6 BCE (Jer 41-44); this became the nucleus of the later Jewish colony of Elephantine.[101] An ostracon from Lachish mentions that the chief commander of the army, a certain Konyahu, went to Egypt – perhaps to seek help, perhaps just to escape.[102] What matters is that the interest on the Judean side was in no way echoed by a similar interest on the Egyptian side. The pharaohs of the 26th Dynasty played no particular role in the events of the last days of Judah.[103] Indeed, the penultimate ruler of the 26th Dynasty, Apries (598-570 BCE), tried to take advantage of the Babylonian siege of Jerusalem in 588 by attacking the Phoenician cities of Sidon and Tyre, but did not come to the aid of Jerusalem.[104] The Judeans, however, were expecting help. In Jeremiah 44:30 the prophet Jeremiah threatens the Egyptian pharaoh with the same fate as Zedekiah, the last king of Judah:

> Thus says JHWH:
> *Behold, I am going to give over Pharaoh Hophra, king of Egypt, to the hand of his enemies… just as I gave over Zedekiah king of Judah to the hand of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon.*

Jeremiah's words are addressed to the Judeans who fled to Egypt and were living in the land of Egypt "at Migdol, at Tahpanes, at Memphis and in the land of Pathros." (Jer 44:1). Jeremiah represents a Judean party highly critical of Egypt.[105] In contrast, another text from the Hebrew Bible can be linked with the Egyptian Empire in the Southern Levant of the late 7th century, in which the borders of that Empire are part of the eschatological hope of Israel. In Num 34:2-12 we find the well-known description of the land of Canaan. The text is given as a speech from JHWH to Moses regarding the Israelites further conquest of the Promised Land.[106] The text describes a territory running from the Negev in the south, along the Mediterranean coast to Byblos in the north, bordering some parts of Syria to the east, as well as the sea of Chinnereth and the Jordan, and ending at the Salt Sea.[107] It is well known that the description of the Promised Land in Number 34 is the same as the vision of the Promised Land in Ez 47:13-22, and both texts depend on the same list of places. For various reasons this list

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[101] On Jer 38 *cf.* Görg, "Jeremia," 194-97, Miller and Hayes, *History* (2nd edition), 496 f. and Schipper, *Israel*, 281-83.

[102] The wording itself does not give any hints; see Renz, *Inschriften*, 418 and Kessler, *Ägyptenbilder*, 44 f.

[103] For the policy of Psammetichus II see Kahn, "Remarks."

[104] For the question of interpretation see Hoffmeier, "Insight."

[105] See Kessler, *Ägyptenbilder*, 61.

[106] Levine, *Numbers*, 532 f.

[107] For a broader exegesis, see Schipper, "Hintergrund."

can be dated to the late 7th century: the inclusion of Kadesh-Barnea in the South (Num 34:4), the reference to a Kingdom of Edom, the Jordan as a border, and the enclosure of the whole Philistine and Phoenician coast can all only be explained in light of the geopolitical situation under Psammetichus I and Necho II.[108] If we consider that in both Numbers 34 and Ez 47 the concept of the Promised Land has special theological meaning, it is quite astonishing that the description of it would be based on the Egyptian imperialism of the 26th Dynasty. It is unknown if this idea originated from the pro-Egyptian party in the pre-exilic royal court of Jerusalem, but, whatever the case, it appears that the Hebrew Bible does contain information that must be understood against the backdrop of the historical situation at the end of the 7th century and the foreign policy of the 26th Dynasty.

The pharaohs' foreign policy evolved over time. Expansion throughout the whole of Syria-Palestine only occurred under Psammetichus I and Necho II. Although the later kings of the 26th Dynasty had interests in the Southern Levant, they concentrated exclusively on the Phoenician (Apries) and the Greek world (Amasis). The Babylonians did not try to conquer Egypt after the Egyptians defeated them in battle near Migdol in 601/600 BCE.[109] In the end the Southern Levant came under Babylonian control and the small city-states and kingdoms of Syria-Palestine that had once been Egyptian vassal-states had to forge a relationship with the new hegemonic power in the southern Levant, the Babylonian Empire.

[108] Levin, "Numbers 34," and Schipper, "Hintergrund."

[109] See Lipiński, "Egypto-Babylonian War," 236-39.

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What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere[1]

JJ Shirley

Abstract

This paper suggests a more nuanced role for many officials involved with the Egyptian 18th Dynasty military sphere. In addition to an increase in military officials whose primary function was related to the battlefield, there existed civil officials who found themselves performing their civilian duties in a new setting – that of the military. Although this latter category of officials often refers to their participation on campaigns, they should not be considered as military men *per se*, nor as officials who shifted from a civil career into a military one and back again. The prominent appearance of military activities in their monuments can instead be regarded as a reflection of the socio-political circumstances in which they found themselves, and not necessarily as an indication of a formal military career. As such, they are not part of a "new class" of military men turned administrators, but rather are civil officials whose positions within Egypt mirror those they conducted under the auspices of the military, whether at home or abroad.

Introduction

Scholars of the LBA in the ancient Near East and New Kingdom Egypt are well aware of the wide-ranging impact that Egypt's 18th Dynasty activities in Syria-Palestine had on the composition of Egypt's government and the extent of its control or influence beyond its traditional borders. Recent publications, such as Gnirs work on the New Kingdom military,[2] Redford's re-examination of Thutmose III's Near Eastern wars,[3] and Morris' comprehensive analysis of Egypt's New Kingdom presence in Syria-Palestine,[4] have all brought this dynamic period into sharp relief. Notwithstanding these new perspectives, Helck's work on the administration and military in the New Kingdom, as presented in *Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* and *Der Einfluss der Militärführer*, is still essentially the authority on the administrative and military changes that occurred during the 18th Dynasty. Certainly modifications have been

[1] I would like to thank Dan'el Kahn for the invitation to present this paper at the Haifa conference; the current version is revised and expanded from that given at the conference, an earlier (and much shorter) version of which was presented at the 57th annual ARCE meeting, see Shirley, "A review." While preparing this article, Betsy Bryan and Vivian Davies provided valuable insights and engaged in lengthy discussions with me about the topic, for which I am very grateful. And finally, my thanks to Raphael Cunniff for reading and commenting on earlier drafts.

[2] Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*.

[3] Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*.

[4] Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*.

made,[5] but, overall, Helck's conclusions regarding the transition of military men into civil careers and the administrative elite are still followed.[6]

[5] *E.g.* Bryan, "The Eighteenth Dynasty" and "Administration"; der Manuelian, *Studies in the reign of Amenophis II*; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*.

[6] Helck, *Einfluss*, esp. 33 ff., 41 ff., 71 ff. and *Verwaltung*, 537 f. This is not to suggest that Helck's conclusions are entirely inaccurate, but they are certainly in need of re-examination. Indeed, it is likely that especially early in the 18th Dynasty, when military and administrative needs began to burgeon significantly, there was movement from the military to the civil administration among the elite, as Helck has suggested. Such men might include, for example, Ahmose-Pennekhbet who appears to have been a soldier first (at least through Thutmose I's reign) and administrator only after his military exploits concluded. Interestingly, his military-related "titles" (he refers to himself as a warrior [*kfꜥ*] and at least once as a brave one of the king [*kny n nswt*]) occur – on his statues and in the tomb narratives – only in the context of describing his activities while on campaign (for his rewards for this service, see Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 148-49, Text no. 2). They do not seem to form part of his primary titulary, which is civil in nature (as overseer of the seal [*ỉmy-r ḫtm*] and (first royal) herald [*wḥmw* (*tpy nswt*)]) and appears following the offering formulae on his statues and the tomb's façade. Here I must thank Vivian Davies for his thoughts and engaging discussion about this official, his monuments and inscriptions, and his role in the military and civil spheres. It should also be mentioned that Vivian Davies' work on Ahmose Pennekheb's tomb, presented at the Theban Symposium in Granada (May 2010), has demonstrated that in its present form the tomb belongs to Pennkheb's "brother," Amenhotep-Hapu, probably his great grand-nephew, and is very likely datable to the reign of Amenhotep III. It thus serves as a type of family tomb, though whether Amenhotep-Hapu took over and enlarged Pennekheb's tomb or built a new tomb (including within it inscriptions relating to Pennekheb that were based both on his statues and his *original* tomb at Elkab), is uncertain. In either case, it could be assumed that Pennekheb's original tomb inscriptions were likely more informative than what survives today. For a preliminary report on the work, see Davies, forthcoming, in *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan* [online journal]. From the mid-18th Dynasty the viceroy Usersatet may have had a similar career path, though it must be said that the viceroys themselves perhaps present a special case (see Shirley, "Viceroys, Viziers & the Amun Precinct," esp. 89, n. 65). Usersatet was a chariot-warrior, royal herald, steward of Meidum and finally viceroy. As chariot-warrior he seems to have been involved with Amenhotep II's early campaigns, and perhaps the late ones of Thutmose III as well (*cf.* the Semna stele = Boston MFA 25.632; *Urk*. IV, 1343-4, see, *e.g.* der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 154-58, fig. 37 and Leprohon, *Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum* 3.II, 160-63). Usersatet's Amara West stele (Louvre E.17341; *Urk*. IV, 1484-86, see, *e.g.*, Barbotin, *La voix des hieroglyphs*, 156-57, no. 85) indicates that as royal herald he was involved with a variety of activities on behalf of Amenhotep II, including *smnḫ* the king's monuments and undertaking journeys (similar to Sennefri, Iamunedjeh, and Minmose, see below). See also Davies, "The British Museum epigraphic survey at Tombos" and "Kurgus 2002."

To return to the original point, care must be taken not to class officials as part of a group of military-turned civil adminis-

As its title suggests, the purpose of this paper is to ascertain what exactly a title imparts about its holder so as to better understand the roles played by officials involved with the 18th Dynasty military sphere. It is important to remember that titles, epithets, and even tomb scenes, can be both informative and misleading. What does a title convey about the actual duties and career of the individual who holds it? Does a phrase with military connotations, such as "one who follows the king on all foreign lands/in his marches" (*šms nsw ḥr ḫ3swt nbt / r nmtt.f*), necessarily mean the official who bears it was an active military officer in the traditional sense? Certainly there were many who directly participated in the battles; the ever increasing campaigns into Syria-Palestine required and resulted in an expansion of the Egyptian military itself, both in terms of numbers and types of positions. But what of those men whose military involvement is less obvious, but who nonetheless include military-related titles and epithets among their tomb and statue inscriptions, and in graffiti, as well as military-related scenes in their tomb decoration? Can we distinguish a more nuanced role for apparently civil officials involved with campaigns or the military, one in which the prominent appearance of such activities in their monuments should be seen as a reflection of the socio-political circumstances in which they found themselves, rather than an indication of a formal military career?[7]

To answer these questions the author presents an examination of the careers of several individuals who, through inscriptions and depictions, are known to have been involved with the military – both on campaigns and not.

"True" Military Men

Before we examine those officials who brought their civil responsibilities to bear in Syria-Palestine, it is useful to remind ourselves of some of the more well-known "true" military men whose own records provide invaluable information about the military activities of 18th Dynasty Egyptian kings. These men began their careers in

trators simply due to a lack of information. Thus, although part of the larger discussion, for this article the current author has chosen to draw attention to those officials for whom this is clearly *not* the case.

[7] Although outside the scope of this paper, it is clear that the same situation was occurring in the Egyptian campaigns into Nubia, as evinced by the graffiti left at Hagr el-Merwa by officials who accompanied Thutmose I and Thutmose III. To quote Vivian Davies, who I must thank for drawing my attention to this fact, (pers. comm.): "They form an interesting mix, comprising scribes, priests, civil administrators and military personnel." See Davies, "La frontière méridionale de l'Empire," "Kurgus 2000," "Kurgus 2002," and "Kurgus 2004."

the military and always functioned to some extent within it, either as permanent soldiers, soldiers who became military administrators, or as military administrators. They thus provide us with a type of "control group" for this study.

Early – Mid Dynasty 18: Reigns of Ahmose – Amenhotep II

From the very beginning of the 18th Dynasty we have the career soldier Ahmose son of Ebana, who participated on campaigns up through the reign of Thutmose I. Likewise, from later in the dynasty we know of men such as Amenmose (TT42), Amenemheb-Mahu (TT85), Dedi (TT200), the general Djehuty,[8] Nebamun (TT145),[9] and Nebenkemet (TT256),[10] all of whom were veterans of the campaigns of Thutmose III, including for some the year 33 campaign in which Thutmose III crossed the Euphrates; and several of whom continued serving into the reign of Amenhotep II. In addition, some were military officials in the field who held administrative positions within the military at the end of their careers. To illustrate what a career military man looks like during this period, the following provides some additional detail about four of these officials.

The autobiography of Ahmose son of Ebana, found in his tomb at Elkab (Tomb no. 5),[11] imparts details not only on the campaigns undertaken by Seqenenre Tao through Thutmose I, supplementing what we know from royal monuments, but also supplies personal information about his own career, as well as his activities on the campaigns. Ahmose stresses that he fought, made seizures, and carried off hands and living captives – all phrases that imply that he was a soldier participating in the battles – for which he was generously rewarded by the kings he served with gold, captives, servants, and land.[12] He also clearly narrates his progression through the military ranks, beginning as a soldier (*wʿw*), apparently both on land and on ships, becoming fighter of the ruler (*ʿḥwty n ḥḳꜣ*) and finally crew commander

[8] Known only from several funerary objects found in Saqqara, presumably from his tomb, and now in the Louvre, British Museum, and Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. See Eggebrecht and Eggebrecht, *Ägypten Aufsteig zur Weltmarch*, 120, 338-44; Reeves, "The Ashburnham Ring"; Bryan, "Administration," 103 ff.

[9] A troop commander (*ḥry pḏt*) and father of Paser (TT367), who was a prominent member of Amenhotep II's court. See Helck, "Ein verlorenes Grab"; der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 121-22; Fakhry, "The Tomb of Nebamun."

[10] A fan-bearer and chief of stables. See der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 131; Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 163-64, Text no. 13.

[11] *Urk*. IV, 1-11. See most recently, Davies, "The Tomb of Ahmose Son-of-Ebana."

[12] See Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 145-48, Text no. 1.

(*ḥry-ẖnywt*); he also claims to have fought at the forefront of the army (*tpy n mšꜥw*).[13] Thus it becomes clear that Ahmose son of Ebana, like his soldier father, was a military man from beginning to end.

Amenmose, owner of TT42, was first a troop commander (*ḥry pḏt*),[14] then overseer of northern foreign lands (*ỉmy-r ḫꜣswt mḥtt*),[15] and finally chief of stables (of the lord of the two lands)[16] (*ḥry ỉḥw* [*nb tꜣwy*]); his epithets include "follower of the king in Retenu" and "eyes and ears of the king in vile Retenu." Two scenes in his tomb relate to his service abroad. In the first he is a troop commander apparently overseeing the bringing of tribute from a Syrian fortress while he was on campaign, as indicated by the rows of soldiers below the scene, perhaps the very ones he commanded.[17] On the adjacent wall he presents a procession of Syrians bearing tribute before a king, probably Thutmose III, and likely in his capacity as the overseer of northern foreign lands, though the inscription is lost.[18]

Amenemheb-Mahu's tomb autobiography is one of the more

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[13] For the titles, *cf.* Schulman, *MRTO*, 36 f., 56 f.; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 18; Chevereau, *Prosopographie*, 133-35; Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 78 f.; Jones, *Nautical Titles*, 91.

[14] Essentially an upper-level soldier who commanded troops, though the post could contain some administrative duties. See Schulman, *MRTO*, 53-56 who places the *ḥry pḏt* as the highest rank a field-officer could obtain and subordinate only to the "general" (*ỉmy-r mšꜥ wr*). This has been translated variously as "colonel" (Oberst)/ commander of troops (Helck, *Einfluss*, 37-40); commander of a host (Schulman, *MRTO*, 30-32, 53; larger in size than a company (approx. 250), but not the full army); commander of a regiment (Chevereau, *Prosopographie*, 64 n.11); commander of archers/bowmen (Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 18). The determinative of an archery bow in the word *pḏt* is suggestive that the title refers to archers or bowmen, though to my knowledge there are no depictions that would enable us to draw a firm conclusion on this. *WB* I:570.10-571.6, defines *pḏt* as both a "Truppe von Soldaten" and "die Bogenschützen." Regardless of translation though, it is clear that the bearer of this title was militarily active and probably led troops of some kind.

[15] An administrative post in which the bearer would function as the king's representative in foreign lands and be entrusted to speak on the king's behalf. See Murnane, "Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries," 256 f. According to Helck, *Beziehungen*, 251, this may be equivalent to the *rabisu* in Amurru; *cf.* Moran, *The Amarna Letters*, xxvi n. 70.

[16] The title appears only twice: on the entrance to the rear chamber [PM I^2/1 (18)], and in the fuller form in the pillared hall [PM I^2/1 (2)]. It probably did not have an "activity military role" attached to it and may have been awarded as a type of "retirement position"; see Schulman, *MRTO*, 51 ff.; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 5.

[17] PM I^2/1 (4).

[18] PM I^2/1 (5). *Cf.* Bryan "Administration," 66, who states that the duties of this position "included the supervision of revenue deliveries to Egypt." See also Murnane, "Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries."

famous (TT85), as it contains a great deal of information about several of Thutmose III's campaigns. Like Ahmose son of Ebana, he details his participation on various expeditions, the captures he made, and the rewards he was given for his service.[19] From the text we learn that he began as a soldier on the ship "Amun-Userhat" (*wꜥw n ꜤImn-wsr-ḥꜣt*),[20] then moved to the rank of troop commander (*ḥry pḏt*).[21] In return for his service Amenemheb-Mahu was rewarded with servants, animals, and various objects, including the gold fly and lion pendants, as well as the "gold-of-praise," associated with military activity during this period, as demonstrated by Susan Binder's work and briefly summarised in her contribution to this volume.[22] He finished his career by being promoted, probably by Amenhotep II, to serve as *ỉdnw* – or deputy – of the army (*ỉdnw n mšꜥ*),[23] when he was also commanded to be "watchful of the *ḳnywt* (brave ones) of the king," which was certainly an administrative military post.

Based on his funerary cones and tomb inscriptions (TT200), Dedi also started as a soldier – on the ship "Beloved of Amun" (*wꜥw n Mry-ꜤImn*).[24] He then became a

[19] Amenemheb-Mahu's career reconstruction is based on both his autobiography and the titles spread throughout his tomb. Der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II,* 162, following Breasted and others, describe the autobiography scene as one in which Amenemheb-Mahu recites his autobiography before Amenhotep II. Based on personal inspection in 2002 this is not correct; the cartouches though damaged are clearly those of Thutmose III. Amenhotep II is probably portrayed in the same position on the west side of the same wall, at PM I²/1 (9), where the bottom of Amenhotep II's epithet *ḥkꜣ Wꜣs* (ruler of Thebes) is discernable. For a recent translation and commentary on the military-related portions, see Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 167-72.

[20] In the autobiography Amenemheb-Mahu calls himself simply a soldier (*wꜥw*) at the outset, and at the end states: "I made these captures when a *wꜥw* (of the ship) Amun-Userhat. I was tying *ꜥḳꜣw*-ropes in (the ship) *ꜤImn-wsr-ḥꜣt* when I was as the first of his companions in rowing (the ship) Amun-Re at the Beautiful Feast of the Opet, all men in rejoicing/festival."

[21] It is probably at this rank that his exploits in campaign J at Kadesh (Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 172 = 1st, 6th, or last campaign) as "foremost (*i.e.* leader) of every brave man" (*ỉw.ỉ m ḥꜣwty n ḳn nb*) should be attributed. See Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 157-59, Text no. 9, for a discussion of Amenemheb-Mahu's rewards.

[22] Binder, *Gold of Honour*; *cf.* "Joseph's Rewarding and Investiture," esp. 45-51, (= contribution in this volume).

[23] This promotion was granted by Amenhotep II. The relevant text occurs *after* that dealing with Thutmose III's death and Amenhotep's accession to the throne, when Amenemheb-Mahu was brought to the palace after being noticed by the king during the Opet Festival. In one inscription in the tomb's rear – PM I²/1 (26) – he is called by the variant of *ỉdnw* of the king in the army (*ỉdnw n nsw m mšꜥ*).

[24] DM no. 22. According to Bryan, "Antecedents to Amenhotep III," 61, this was not a warship, but rather a "state barge … which carried the ruler and his

standard-bearer of the companies of his majesty (*ṯ3y sryt n s3w n ḥm.f*),[25] and royal messenger in every foreign land (*wpwty nsw ḥr ḫ3swt nbt*).[26] Following this Dedi served the king militarily within Egypt as overseer of the western desert/foreign lands west of Thebes (*ỉmy-r ḫ3st* [*ḥr*] *ỉmntt W3st/nỉwt*)[27] and chief of the Medjay[28] (*ḥry Myḏ3wy*); his epithets include "brave one of soldiers" and "one who followed the king upon his marches."[29] Dedi's tomb decoration incorporates a scene of reviewing troops before both Thutmose III and Amenhotep II,[30] and at least once he is depicted wearing the gold fly pendant.[31] Thus his titles and scenes highlight his life as a military man.

Mid 18th Dynasty: Thutmose IV – Amenhotep III

As the nature of Egypt's military involvement in Syria-Palestine changes from battle-oriented empire building to empire maintenance, we find fewer soldiers among the elite and more men who spend their lives functioning as military administrators, both in Egypt and abroad. [32] There also appears to be a

associates on court missions." This seems to be contra Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 286 ff., 291, where she includes standard-bearers and soldiers of ships amongst the military administration of Thutmose IV. However, Murnane, "Organization of Government," 199, refers to this and other like-named ships as part of the "navy's flagships"; *cf.* Säve-Söderbergh, *Navy*, 71 ff.; Jones, *Glossary*, 234.

25 DM no. 22. This is a mid-level military title whose bearer would have commanded troops, in this case the *s3w*, which in its entirety could include some 250 men. See Schulman, *MRTO*, 26-30, 69-71, 84 ff. with table 3. It may represent his transition from military service in Egypt to abroad or entry into military service abroad.

26 DM no. 4. He may also have been "chief of the companies of pharaoh (*ḥry n p3 s3w n pr-ꜥ3*), but I could not confirm the title in his tomb; *cf.* Vallogia, *Recherche*, 242. If he did hold this position, it most logically came between standard-bearer and royal herald.

27 DM no. 22 and at least twice in his stele inscription – lines 15 and 28, possibly restored in line 11.

28 DM nos. 4 and 22.

29 DM no. 24 and traces at PM I²/1 (7), respectively. On the *mnfyt* see Schulman, *MRTO*, 13-14, nos. 93, 139, 142 and Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 12-17.

30 PM I²/1 (3). Only the very bottom of the kiosk is still extant, but the size of the kiosk platform, which takes up half of the wall, indicates that two kings could easily be seated within it. *Cf.* Radwan, *Darstellungen*, 33 with fig. 1 for the cartouches, which has Amenhotep II seated before Thutmose III – possibly indicating he was co-regent at this time. Based on the costumes various types of troops are represented, so it is likely that these are military troops rather than his Medjay forces.

31 PM I²/1 (1). He likely wore it throughout his tomb, but today the area around Dedi's face and chest is consistently defaced in all but this scene. *Cf.* Bryan, "Antecedents to Amenhotep III," 74-75 and Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 161, Text no. 11.

32 *Cf.* Murnane, "Organization of Government," 196-200; Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 279-85; Bryan, "Antecedents to Amenhotep III," 58, 61: "The rank of 'general' or 'military officer' is practically unknown

bit more fluidity, as officials placed in border regions often hold both military and administrative positions.[33] Nonetheless, these men should still be seen as true "military men," albeit in slightly different roles than seen earlier in the dynasty. This group includes officials who served their entire careers within the military, such as the army scribe Tjanuny (TT74), chief of archers and overseer of northern foreign lands Khaemwaset,[34] standard-bearer and chief of the Medjay Nebamun (TT90); as well as those in the "dual" role of soldier-administrator of forts and towns like Nebi and Amenemhat.[35] To demonstrate what a career military man functioning mostly as an administrator looks like during this period, next we will examine three individuals.

in the period [=Thutmose IV], while that of 'royal scribe' abounds … the office of 'scribe of recruits' was never so well attested, but that the holders were often clearly court associates suggests that the position required not the hardened military man but the loyal civil official."

[33] *Cf.* Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, *e.g.* 288 f. with regard to troop commanders who were also often mayors of important garrison- or fortress-towns.

[34] Murnane, "The Organization of Government," 227 and "Overseers of Northern Foreign Countries," 254. Penhet, the owner of TT239, may also have had a military career, see Murnane, "Overseers of Northern Foreign Countries," 254.

[35] On Amenemhat see Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 288.

Tjanuny moved through the ranks of the military, though purely at the administrative level, beginning as an army scribe (*sš mšꜥ*) under Thutmose III and by the reign of Thutmose IV had attained the level of overseer of army scribes for the lord of the two lands (*ỉmy-r sš mšꜥw n nb tꜣwy*), scribe of *nfrw* (of the bowmen of pharaoh) (*sš nfrw*[36] [*n tꜣ pḏt pr-ꜥꜣ*]), and overseer of the army of the king (*ỉmy-r mšꜥw n sw*)[37]. Although he mentions bringing back captives from Thutmose III's exploits, it is clear from his tomb autobiography (TT74) that his role on all of these campaigns was to record the victories "in writing"[38] and this continued throughout the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV. From his tomb scenes we can see that his career was certainly administrative rather than battle-oriented, especially as his title of overseer of the army only occurs when Tjanuny is depicted in an administrative context – leading foreign chiefs presenting their tribute to the king.[39]

Based on a stele and graffito, a man named Nebi was both a fort

[36] This has been variously defined as recruits (Helck, *Einfluss*, 15 ff.); elite troops (Schuman, *MRTO*, 20-1); and even mustering troops (Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 10 with n. 71: "Musterungs- bzw./oder Inspektionsschrieber").

[37] Bryan, *Thutmose* IV, 280.

[38] Autobiographical stela, lines 14-15.

[39] Brack and Brack, *Tjanuni*, scene 13, 39-40, pl. 28b.

commander in Wawat, and a troop commander (*ḥry pḏt*) and probably fort commander (*ỉmy-r ḫtm*) at Tjaru, as well as being mayor (*ḥ3ty-ʿ*) of Tjaru, demonstrating the need for upper level officials who could function in multiple capacities at border regions. In addition, he boasted the title of royal messenger (*wpwty nsw*), signifying his ability to speak for the king when needed, which he certainly did on at least one occasion.[40]

According to his appointment text, Nebamun (TT90, Louvre C60) was a standard-bearer for the ship Meryamun (*ṯ3y sryt n Mry-ỉmn*) and troop commander in western Thebes (*ḥry pḏt n ỉmntt W3st*) during Amenhotep II's reign, and was promoted to chief of Medjay on the west/police in western Thebes (*ḥry Mḏ3yw n ỉmntt*) by Thutmose IV in regnal year 6.[41] Nebamun's brother, Turi, was apparently chief of Medjay at Thebes, and probably in charge of the east bank.[42] Nebamun thus followed a similar route as that of Dedi, mentioned above, and he may well have participated on a Syrian campaign under Thutmose IV (against rebellious city-states and Mitanni vassals), possibly reflected in a scene in his tomb depicting chiefs of Naharin and captives.[43]

Civil Officials on Campaign and/or Attached to the Military

Now that the careers of some clearly military officials have been presented, we can progress to those officials who are truly the focus of this paper, namely men who were part of the civil administration but found themselves thrust into the military sphere due to the circumstances of the time. They do not include career military administrators, who, as mentioned above, were part of the permanent, noncombatant side of the military. Likewise, those individuals who formed part of the growing administration of Egypt's conquered and vassal areas, and whom we know of through both their monuments and references in, for example, the Amarna Letters, are not part of this group.[44] These officials are more appropriately classed as a branch

[40] See Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 264, 288; Björkman, "Neby." Boeser, *Beschreibung der Ägyptischen Sammlung III*, no. 22, pl. 13; Gardiner and Peet, *Inscriptions of the Sinai*, pl. 20 no. 58.

[41] Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 286.

[42] Murnane, "The Organization of Government," 199.

[43] Bryan, "Antecedents to Amenhotep III," 53 f. Though she also states that rather than a war, this may indicate a date for an alliance between Thutmose IV and King Artatama I in year 6.

[44] For discussions see, *e.g.* Murnane, "Imperial Egypt" and "Overseer of the Northern Foreign Countries"; Morris, *Architecture of Imperialism*, 254-62. In fact, several of these men came up through the military ranks and are thus part of the "true" military men category outlined above, *e.g.*, Khaemwaset.

of the administration set up to deal with Syria-Palestine, much as had evolved for Nubia over a longer period of time.

Rather, at this point attention should be brought to some of the men who, by virtue of their inscriptions and tomb scenes, have generally been grouped among the "military class," but who really had a more complex career. Although many of these civil officials served under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, and several participated on Thutmose III's 8th campaign, they can be found throughout the early to mid 18th Dynasty. Due to their large number, only a selection can be presented here[45]: the chief royal herald Intef, the overseer of the seal Sennefri, the royal butler Montuiywy, the king's deputy and overseer of works Minmose, and the engineer and royal herald Iamunedjeh; as well as court-trained men assigned to the military, but in a purely administrative role, for example the herald's assistant User-hat, royal scribe Horemheb, and the well-known royal scribe and chief of recruits (*nfrw*) Amenhotep son of Hapu.

Intef

The great royal herald Intef served under both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,[46] and based on his additional titles, such as overseer of the *ʿryt* and controller of works of the royal house (*pr nsw*), is clearly an official attached to the administration of the court and king.[47]

[45] Additional officials may include, for example, the royal butler Neferperet and royal barber Si-Bastet, both of whom took home captives but report no details of participation on campaigns (see, *e.g.*, Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 165-67; Bryan, "Administration," 88-89, 95-97); the fan-bearer and *ỉdnw* of the king Pehsukher (TT88; see der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 122, 163-64; Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom*, 305-12); the *ḥry šmsw* (*n ḥm.f*) Paser (TT367, and son of the *ḥry pḏt* Nebamun, TT145; see der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 121-22; Binder, *Gold of Honour,* 164-65, Text no. 14; Shirley, *Culture of Officialdom*, 282-89); and the scribe of the treasury, army, and *nfrw* Minhotep-Hututu (see Daressey, "Une stèle fragmentée d'Abousir"; der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 126-27; Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 285).

[46] A reference to Hatshepsut once existed in his tomb, TT155. This scene was on the southern thickness (PM I²/1 (7)) leading into the passage, and is complemented on the outer southern door-jamb with a depiction of Intef standing before a representation of the king's Horus name; the northern outer door-jamb also contains this scene composition, but the king's name is lost. On the thicknesses the pavilion/throne depicts (now mostly destroyed) Asiatics uniting the Two Lands on the north side and Nubians on the south side. There is the possibility that Thutmose III was also referenced in the tomb, on the northern thickness and outer door-jamb, and if this was the case then perhaps there is a double-meaning intended: Hatshepsut's Nubian campaigns and Thutmose III's Asiatic campaigns.

[47] Bryan, "Administration," 90-91. "My

His career can be pieced together through the extant texts and scenes in his tomb (TT155), which is not very well preserved, and his autobiographical stela, now in the Louvre (C26). From these we get a clear picture of an official whose primary duties were to levy taxes within Egypt and taxes or tribute abroad, to provision both the army and the king, and to introduce various groups – from nobles to foreigners, before the king.[48] His tomb scene of inspecting revenues from Keftiu, Syrians and the oases accords well with this image.[49] Although Intef mentions that he followed his king in both "northern and southern lands," reading between-the-lines it can be interpreted that he was not a soldier, but rather acting in his capacity as chief royal herald.[50] Indeed, he felt the need to compare himself to the soldiers and "brave ones" of the king, as if to justify his place among them, stating: "I was as much a soldier as the master swordsman, and deported myself like the braves."[51] While the phrases he employs do bear similarity to his truly military counterparts, the apparent differences in stress make it seem more likely that Intef was given command of and marched at the head of the troops as chief royal herald, for the purpose of provisioning them, not to lead them into battle or in any other military sense.[52] As Redford notes, Intef was "responsible for preparing the way for the expedition,"[53] and was also in charge of setting up the royal household abroad.[54] Intef

office (*ỉ3t*) was in the royal house (*pr nsw*), l.p.h., my duty (*wnwt*) was in the palace (*stp-s3*), my completion (*km*) was in the *ruyt*."

48 He described himself as "the confidant of the king in directing (*ẖrp*) his army, who caused the councils (*knbt*) and the army (*mnfyt*) to come, who counted the officials, who introduced the nobles, who cause the august ones of the king to approach their stations … who performed in the marches (*nmtwt*) of the *ruyt*, who caused that the regulations took place in the royal house, l.p.h." (Bryan, "Administration," 91). Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 176, treats the beginning of this passage differently: "Trusted by the king with the command of his troops, who makes the staff-officers of the elite corps step lively …"

49 In the text he states that he "counted the deliveries of the rulers in every foreign country."

50 *Cf.* Bryan, "Administration," 90-91, 100 who emphasizes Intef's connection to the palace in his role as royal herald, and also overseer of the ruyt. As she notes, the "foreign country" referred to may also be the western desert, especially given Intef's additional title of overseer of the western oases.

51 Translation from Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 180.

52 Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 180-81: "Every palace situated in a foreign land was assessed for [supplies] and I travelled before the elite corps at the head of the army; and (by the time) my lord came safely to me I had provisioned it."

53 Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 181.

54 Bryan, "Administration," 91. Intef set up palaces and prepared them to be proper for the king "they being embellished more than the palace of Egypt – purified,

could thus be viewed as a civil official brought to Syria-Palestine in order to take care of administrative necessities on the king's behalf, and ensure that his "home away from home" ran smoothly.

Sennefri

We can see much the same pattern in the case of the overseer of the seal Sennefri, who also functioned under the co-regency and into the sole reign of Thutmose III as an overseer of the seal (*ỉmy-r ḫtm*) and overseer of double granaries.[55] His tomb autobiography (TT99) indicates that he began his career in the Delta, where he was in charge of temple storehouses (as supervisor to the overseers of the *šnʿ*) and where his father worked at Watet-Hor (as an overseer of the *st*), before being brought south to Thebes as overseer of the seal, granaries, and gold lands of Amun. While Sennefri functioned in this capacity he was in charge of expeditions sent to procure gold and precious metals, probably from the eastern desert, and inspected the regional taxes and foreign dues that were sent to Egypt.

Although clearly a civil official, Sennefri was chosen by Thutmose III for a singularly important mission – he was sent to Lebanon to procure cedar for Amun's temple at Karnak.[56] This task's significance is evident from the large amount of wall space, in both text and image, it was awarded in Sennefri's tomb. Depicted on the rear (focal) wall of his tomb's front hall, on

cleansed, hidden, sacred of their temples." Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 181, "I supplied … privacy and security for their apartments …"

[55] His tenure of service, based on the cartouches of Hatshepsut on his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine (no. 13), which were changed to Thutmose III, and the depiction of Thutmose III in his Theban tomb, started under Hatshepsut and continued at least until year 32/33 of Thutmose III's sole reign (based on pLouvre 3226; see Megally, *Recherches*, 279-81). While it might be possible that Sennefri was installed by Thutmose III as the southern overseer of the seal to replace Ty, the parallel with the vizier Useramun is convincing for a coregency post; Useramun's shrine depicted double cartouches while his tombs make no reference to Hatshepsut and TT131 only depicts Thutmose III.

[56] PM I^2/1 (3) contains the speech of the king tasking Sennefri with this mission, PM I^2/1 (5) shows his successful return from Lebanon, while a new scene on the east wall of the hall likely depicts his time in Lebanon (Strudwick, "The Tomb of Sennefri," http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/architecture/chapel.html = Walls 3, 4 and 5 respectively). Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine,* 175, reads the reference to a storm as denoting the winter and connects the need for cedar with the production of flagstaves for Karnak temple, which were placed at the 7th pylon in years 33-34. Strudwick, "The Tomb of Sennefri," http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/paintings/wall04, understands the "storm-cloud" section as relating Sennefri's amazement at how high the mountainous area of forest was – above the clouds.

the left side Sennefri stands before the enthroned Thutmose III who charges him with this task.[57] The depiction of the carrying out and completion of the trip and Sennefri's successful return to Egypt occupies the right side.[58] In the text, Sennefri mentions his arrival in Lebanon (*Ḫnt-š*), presenting offerings to the local (?) goddess on the king's behalf, travelling to Byblos (*K3pny*) to obtain the cedar, and returning across the sea (*w3ḏ-wr*) to Egypt.[59]

On the wall adjacent to this a Syrian fortress is depicted, complete with crenellated walls and bastions, atop which men and women are standing with their arms raised.[60] This is likely a representation of Sennefri's visit to the local town and reception by the locals who show their respect for the king's agent. Indeed, on this trip Sennefri would certainly have needed to speak on the king's behalf, and it seems likely he was granted his additional office of royal herald for this purpose.[61] Although there is no indication that Sennefri accompanied Thutmose III on any campaigns, he nonetheless bears the epithet "brave one of the king" in conjunction with both his overseer of the seal and royal herald titles,[62] and I would suggest that this is a result of his Lebanon trip, a mission on which he was not a soldier but rather a civil official, though he certainly would have led soldiers on his mission, not unlike Intef.

Montuiywy

The royal butler Montuiywy, like Intef, would have had duties that concerned the king's "mobile home" while on campaign. From the autobiographical stele in his tomb (TT172), we learn that Montuiywy was a servant in the royal

[57] PM I²/1 (3); Strudwick, "The Tomb of Sennefri," http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/architecture/chapel.html, Wall 3. This contains the speech of the king tasking Sennefri with this mission. *Urk*. IV, 532.12-534.3. The phrase "valuable terraced hillsides of cedar" is used: *[ḫtyw] šps[sw nw ꜥš];* see *Urk*. IV, 532.13.

[58] PM I²/1 (5); Strudwick, "The Tomb of Sennefri," http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/architecture/chapel.html, Wall 4.

[59] *Urk*. IV, 534.4-536.4.

[60] The dress of these figures is more elaborate, and slightly different than that worn by the Syrians accompanying the Egyptians on the adjacent wall; *cf.* http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/paintings/wall05.html

[61] At this time he may also have been given the epithets "mouth of the king" and "ears of the king of Lower Egypt." The titles are found on PM I²/1 Pillar Bd, the northeast face and the ceiling of the rear chamber, as well as on statues CG1013 (Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 35-36, pl. 160) and BM48 (*Urk*. IV, 544.13-548.3; Edwards, *Hieroglyphic Texts* VIII, 4-5, no. 48, pl. v).

[62] The epithet appears on two statues: BM48 and Vienna ÄS 5978 (Rogge, *Statuen des Neuen Reiches*, 221-24), and on his Gebel es-Silsilah shrine, no. 13 (Caminos and James, *Gebel es-Silsilah* I, pl. 30).

apartments (*b3k n ipt nsw*) who followed Thutmose III as a youth (*nḫn*) after having grown up in the palace,[63] and was then promoted to a higher position that related to the other attendants in the palace, and probably also royal butler.[64] Montuiywy then proceeds to extol the abilities of Thutmose III in his chariot and on the battlefield, including mention of traversing (*ḫns*) the mountains, crossing (*ḏ3i*) the Euphrates River (*pẖr-wr*) and crossing to Karoy in Nubia.[65] Following Thutmose's death and Amenhotep II's ascension, which is also referenced in the text,[66] Montuiywy is again promoted (*sẖnt*) to a position supervising all the offices of the king's house, probably overseer of royal apartments (*imy-r ipt nswt*).[67] Nowhere in the text does

[63] Lines 4-5, *Urk.* IV, 1466.13-16. The text, with restorations in [ ] from the *Urk.*, reads: *ḏd.f* [*in*]*k* //[*sꜥḥ 3ḫ n nb.f*]// *b3k n ipt-nswt iw šms*[*.n*]*.i* //[*nswt*]// *bity* //[*Mn-ḫpr*]//-*rꜥ* //[*ḥr ḫ3swt*]// *nb*[*t*] *m nḫn n* /// x+1 *i* //// *ḫpr.n*(*.i*) *m ẖnw* "He says: I was a [noble beneficial for his lord], a servant of the royal apartments. I followed the king [of Upper] and Lower Egypt [Menkheper]re [upon] all [foreign countries] as a child of (22 ?) … after I grew up in the (royal) residence." I suggest a restoration of "22" for x+1 based on the fact that a single stroke is visible at the bottom of the damaged section and there is only room for one or perhaps two additional strokes in front of it. Above this the most likely restoration are two signs each denoting the number 10, since it is highly unlikely that Montuiywy was only in his teens on these campaigns. The damage after *m ẖnw* makes it possible that this should be taken as the preposition "within" rather than as a preposition + noun. However, even translated as "within," there would need to be a location named after this, and the palace is still the most likely.

[64] Lines 6-7, *Urk.* IV, 1466.17-18. The text reads: /// *iḳ*[*r.k*]*wi* //// *nb ḫpr.kwi m* //// *n ẖrw tp ꜥḥ* "… I was excellent … everyone, I having become as … of those who are under (*i.e.* subordinates) the head of the palace." *Cf.* Bryan, "Administration," 95 f.

[65] Wenig, "Napata," col. 343. The text, lines 9-12, reads: There is not an end of his supremacy, one [saw] his power [upon] the strength of [his two arms, appearing] upon [his] chariot, [the good god being brave], the arm goes forth. He does not see a second (one). There is not a foreign land that he did not reach //// he went //// he traversed the mountains after he crossed the Euphrates River (*pẖr-wr*) //// lord of the two lands after he crossed [to the foreign land of Q]ry (?) when I was as his following. There did not exist //// his //// upon //// of the battlefield, a sole warrior who made himself into portions.

[66] Lines 14-15, *Urk.* IV, 1467.16-20. The text, with restorations in [ ] from the Urkunden and suggestions in ( ), reads: // [*pr.n.i*]// *ḫr ḥsw nb t3wy sw3ḏ* //(*.n.f wi* ?)// [*ḫ*]*r rdwy s3.f smsw pr ḫn*[*t.f ḫ3i*]*.n.f* //[*tw*]*t nswt* /// *f* //// *nṯr pr m nṯr s*[*m*]*n.n Rꜥ nst.f.* [I went forth] bearing the praises of the lord of the two lands, [he caused that I ?] flourish under the two legs of his eldest son, who came out from [him after] he [appeared in glory], the [image of] the king / a king like … a god who came forth from a god, whose seat Re confirmed.

[67] Lines 17-18, *Urk.* IV, 1468:6-8. The text as I viewed it, with only obvious gaps filled in [ ] reads: *di*[*.k*]*w*[*i*] *m* ///*w.f sẖnt. kwi m* //// *i3wt nbt nt pr-nswt ꜥnḫ* [*wḏ3 snb*] *r*[*di*]*.kwi ḫr st-ḥr* "[I] was placed as/with his (*i.e.*, the king's) …, I was pro-

Montuiywy make mention of his own performance on the field,[68] or other activities that would clearly indicate he took part in any of the battles on which he followed his king, nor does he have any military titles. While he does bear epithets such as being "in the king's following," this serves to underscore his close relationship with the king[69] but does not necessarily imply a military role. In addition, unlike other officials, including the royal butler Suemniwet,[70] Montuiywy does not wear any gold fly pendants in his tomb.

He thus spent his entire career as a member of the royal household staff, both in Egypt and abroad, and although he was favored by his kings – both Thutmose III and Amenhotep II are depicted in his tomb[71] – and he received gifts for

moted as/among …, every office of the king's house, life, [prosperity, health], I was [placed] under the place of (my) sight.

[68] I disagree with Shaw, *Royal Authority*, 104; it is not Montuiywy but the king who is referred to as a "sole warrior (*ꜥḥꜣw wꜥw*) who made himself into portions."

[69] Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 57-65.

[70] I would like to note here that analysis of Suemniwet's career, who served under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, is ongoing by both the author and Betsy Bryan, whom I must wholeheartedly thank for a stimulating back-and-forth about where Suemniwet fits into the socio-political picture presented here. Suemniwet may represent a mid-18th Dynasty official who moved from the military to the administrative sphere over the course of his career, though it is also possible that he served already as a royal butler on campaign with Thutmose III. Although we are lacking an autobiography, based on his monuments, Suemniwet was a standard-bearer (*ṯꜣy sryt*), master/chief of stables of the lord of the two lands (*ḥry iḥw n nb tꜣwy*), overseer of ships (*imy-r ꜥḥꜥ*[*w*] *nswt*), and royal butler (*wbꜣ nsw*), and he also bore the military-related epithets common to the time: "follower of the king on his marches over southern and northern countries," "follower of the king over water and land" and "valiant seizer for the lord of the two lands." Although Suemniwet has no clear fighting titles (the first three titles above could be related as easily to the king and palace, rather than the military) he was still the recipient of the gold of honor (which was primarily awarded for military feats during Thutmose III's reign; *cf.* Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 238-39), which does suggest that he witnessed some degree of combat. The question remains, in what capacity?

[71] PM I^{2}/1 (3). It is quite different from the depiction in TT42 of Amenmose where the two kings are shown back-to-back receiving offerings in the lunette of Amenmose's stele [PM I^{2}/1 (11)]. Murnane, *Coregencies*, 53 with n. 94, placed Montuiywy as a possible co-regency official, and van Siclen agreed; *cf. Uronarti*, 49(D). This representation, which is rather unusual, appears on the upper half of the east wall above a false-door stele with two registers of offering-bearers on either side. On the north (left) side Montuiywy praises a king wearing what appears to be the *khepresh* crown and holding an ankh in his right hand and crook and flail in his left. The king is seated on a throne before an offering table and as expected, he is at a larger scale than Montuiywy. The north scene is approximately 1/3 larger than that on the south (right), where Montuiywy presents a bouquet to a king also holding

the New Year's (*wpt-rnpt*) festival,[72] this was certainly due to his service in the royal household, rather than any military feats.

Iamunedjeh

Serving under both Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the official Iamunedjeh was a controller of (all) works (*ḫrp k3t* (*nb*)), (first) royal herald (*wḥm* (*tpy*) *nsw*), overseer of the *ruyt* and overseer of the granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt. While these are civil titles, he is depicted on the rear (focal) wall of his tomb's hall (TT84) leading Nubians before the king on one side, and Syrians on the other,[73] and the inscriptions in his tomb and on a block statue (Luxor J.3) mention following the king on the battlefield, rebellions in Retenu and crossing the Euphrates River.[74] From his monuments we can reconstruct a career path that begins in year 15 of Hatshepsut as a controller involved in renovation projects – monuments being made anew (western tomb stele).[75] On his eastern tomb stele, Iamunedjeh clearly refers to the foreigners of Retenu being in rebellion,[76] the "nine bows" are then mentioned, and slightly later the word *sbty* appears, denoting some type of rampart or wall.[77] Although damaged, this sequence is remarkably

the ankh, crook and flail, who is seated on a throne placed on a raised platform. The combination of the raised height of the king and smaller size of the composition results in the king's scale being almost equal to that of Montuiywy's. Unfortunately, the entire top half of the south side is destroyed leaving the identification of the king unknown. However, although the columns of inscription above the northern side are badly damaged, the very bottom of the cartouche is visible, and there do not appear to be any signs within it. This suggests that the name which should be restored is that of Menkheperre (Thutmose III), rather than Aakheperure (Amenhotep II) since the latter name would have plural strokes at the very end. Thus, if we assume that two kings are depicted, then it must be Amenhotep II who is at the right. The smaller size of the royal figure placed there now makes more sense, since if he were only coregent when the scene was executed it is not impossible that Montuiywy and Amenhotep II would be placed at a similar scale. In fact, this composition is not unlike that found in Amenemheb-Mahu's tomb where Amenhotep II followed by Amenemheb-Mahu, his wife Baky, and possibly their daughter Amenhedu present offerings to Osiris in a kiosk.

[72] PM I^{2}/1 (9).

[73] PM I^{2}/1 (9) and (5).

[74] TT 84, PM I^{2}/1 (8) and his block statue (originally CM JE59190, now Luxor Museum J.3). The other tomb autobiography is at PM I^{2}/1 (4).

[75] PM I^{2}/1 (4). Lines 10-12, *Urk*. IV, 940.3-7: *//[ḏd.f]// sp tp n rdỉt m ḥr.f r ỉrt ḫrp n nb t3wy //[š3]//ꜥ m rnpt* 15 *nfryt r rnpt //// //// //[ỉr.n ḥm.f]// m m3wt n //// m st.f mtt.*

[76] PM I^{2}/1 (8). Lines 15-16, *Urk*. IV, 946.10-12: *//// n ḫ3styw n Rtnw bš//[t3]//. s m-ḥ3t.s r pḥ.s //[r]// š3//[ꜥ m]// //// //// pḏ// [t 9]//.* Redford suggests that these rebellions may be those mentioned by Thutmose III in his Annals recounting the first campaign to Megiddo; Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 10 n. 48.

[77] PM I^{2}/1 (8). Line 19: *///// m sbty ////.*

similar to the royal account on the 7th pylon reveals at Karnak, and it thus seems likely that Iamunedjeh was brought by Thutmose III on his first (year 23) campaign to assist in the building of the *sbty* at Megiddo.[78] Around this time, Iamunedjeh became controller of works and spent the next ten years likely going between Egypt and Syria-Palestine erecting monuments for the king.[79]

On his statue, Iamunedjeh recounts that he "crossed the inverted river (the Euphrates) following after his Majesty in order to make (*ỉri*) the boundaries (*tꜣšw*) of Egypt."[80] The use of the verb *ỉri* "to make" as opposed to *swsḫ* "to extend" is especially significant because it is unique among inscriptions in which the goal of the action performed relates to the *tꜣšw* of Egypt,[81] and indicates that

[78] PM I²/1 (8). Thutmose III mentions the construction of a *sbty* in three of his accounts of the first campaign to Megiddo: Thutmose III builds a "stong/sturdy circumvalation" (*m sbty n wmtt*) (Annals); a "good circumvallation" (*m sbty mnḫ*) (Pylon 7 reveals); and a "circumvallation made very thick" (*m sbty swmt.w*) (Room III) around Megiddo; Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 31 f., 121, 149; *Urk*. IV, 661, 184, 758. The 7th pylon reveals at Karnak read: (6) … [His Majesty journeyed to] Retenu to crush the northern foreigners on his first victorious campaign … the Nine Bows bunched up beneath [his sandals….] … (7) … I made a [great] slaughter [among them….] his […] placed in a fortress of their own construction which in turn was enclosed by a good circumvallation." Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 121; *Urk*. IV, 184. *Cf.* Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 10 n. 48, who also suggests that the rebellions in Iamunedjeh's inscription may be the same as those mentioned by Thutmose III in connection with Megiddo. However, it is also possible that this is the same *sbty* at Kadesh whose impending breach is referred to in the autobiography of Amenemheb-Mahu. The timing of this is uncertain, and could date to year 42 or later; *cf.* Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 170 ff.

[79] After he becomes controller of works, he records witnessing three sets of obelisks being erected by the king in Thebes and Heliopolis. These have been interpreted as the obelisks erected by Thutmose III in years 33, 36 and 40, providing a chronological marker for Iamunedjeh's promotion; see Hayes, "Statue of the Herald," 12-14. Followed by Helck, *Verwaltung*, 385, and Polz, "Jamunedjeh, Meri und Userhat," 282-83. PM I²/1 (4). The text covers lines 12-14, *Urk*. IV, 940.8-12: *ỉst wỉ ỉm m //[ḫr]//p //[kꜣwt ỉw mꜣꜣ.n(.ỉ) sꜥḥꜥ]// //// //[ỉr.n ḥm.f n ỉ.f ꞽImn] ỉw mꜣꜣ.n(.ỉ) sꜥhꜥ //[tḫn]//w wrw ỉr.n ḥm.f // [n]// ỉt.f //[ꞽImn]// ỉw //[mꜣꜣ sꜥḥꜥ]// //// n ỉt//[.f]// ꞽItm nb ꞽIwnw r r bḫnt.wy ꜥꜣt.wy ỉr.n ḥm.f m mꜣwt*.

[80] The entire section of text is as follows: *n kꜣ n šms nswt r nmtt.f ỉry-rd.wy nṯr nfr tm (t)š r nb tꜣwy ḥr prỉ ḥr ḫꜣst nbt mḥtt ḏꜣỉ r pẖr-wr m-sꜣ ḥm.f r ỉrt tꜣšw Kmt wḥm tpy nswt ỉmy-r rwyt hrrw nb tꜣwy ḥr sḫrw.f wḥm nsw ꞽIꜣmw-nḏḥ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw* "for the *ka* of one who follows the king upon his marches, one relating to the two legs of the good god who does not turn away from the lord of the two lands upon the battlefield upon all northern foreign lands …(section quoted in main text above)… the first royal herald, overseer of the *ruyt*, whose counsel pleases the lord of the two lands, the royal herald, Iamunedjeh, *mꜣꜥ-ḫrw*."

[81] See Galán's sources in *Victory*, 117 as compared to 119, and also 117 H for the

it is Iamunedjeh and not the king who is "making" the boundary – in other words, erecting – or perhaps better understood as overseeing the carving of[82] – Thutmose III's stele, an action commonly associated with extending *tꜣšw*,[83] and which Thutmose III himself records having done following this campaign.[84]

Iamunedjeh was certainly first royal herald by year 40, and likely gained this position while he was in Syria-Palestine, perhaps in conjunction with setting up the stele. As in the case of Monutiywy, Iamunedjeh's inscriptions seem to focus on activities relating to campaigns but without clear mention of a participatory role in the battles themselves. Thus we could interpret Iamunedjeh's military career as one primarily civilian in nature; he was bought into the military by Thutmose III to serve in his capacity as overseer of building projects, a position he executed in Egypt before and after his time in Syria-Palestine.

Minmose

Despite his not having a tomb, the career of the royal scribe, *idnw* (deputy) of the king and overseer of works in the temples Minmose is well known through his repertoire of statuary and stelae,[85] which place him as an official during the reign of Thutmose III and early years of Amenhotep II.[86] Although Minmose records his activities while following Thutmose III in Syria, his positions and duties are entirely administrative in nature, and his

passage referring to Iamunedjeh's actions in year 33.

[82] See Carola Vogel's contribution to this volume, This Far and Not a Step Further!"

[83] Galán, *Victory*, 119 f. The fact that Galán does not view them as "boundary" stele in the strict sense, but rather as stelae erected to record the victories in the area does not change the interpretation with regard to Iamunedjeh's involvement; *cf.* Galán, *Victory*, 119 f., 146 ff., esp. 153-54.

[84] Thutmose III records this event in his Karnak Annals (*Urk.* IV, 698.17-699.1: "He has established his stele (*wḏ*) in Naharin, extending the *tꜣšw* of Egypt"), and it is also referred to in his Gebel Barkal and Armant stelae. See also Galán, *Victory*, 119 D, 148 ff.

[85] His monuments include a group statuette possibly from Abydos (BM 2300: de Meulenaere, "Le directeur des travaux Minmose"); a group statue from Nebesheh (Petrie, *Tanis* II, pl. 10, no. 5; *Urk.* IV, 1445-46); a block statue from Medamud (Drioton, *Médamoud* II, 52-6, no. 355; *Urk.* IV, 1441-45); a statue of Minmose holding two princes possibly from Karnak (CG638: Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 186-87, pl. 117; *Urk.* IV, 1447); a stele carved at Tura (Daressy, "Inscriptions," 258; *Urk.* IV, 1448); and a stele of unknown provenance (Berlin 822: *Aegyptische Inschriften Berlin* II, 99).

[86] Most of this comes from the lengthy inscription on his statue from the Montu temple at Medamud, which bears the cartouche of Thutmose III (*cf.* Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 173-74), while a second source is Minmose's Tura inscription, which contains a date in year four of Amenhotep II (*cf.* der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 166).

choice of phrases mirrors that seen for Montuiywy. On his Medamud statue Minmose records that as a royal scribe he followed (*šms*) and trod (*ẖnd*) after his king, witnessing how Thutmose III's arm "waxed strong" throughout the north, how he "crossed (*ḏ3i*) the water of Naharin (Euphrates)," and "overthrew (*sẖrt*) the land of Nubia."[87] None of these verbs suggest actual combat activity on Mimose's part.[88] And indeed, in the section that follows, Minmose tells us that his duties occurred *after* the battles, when he taxed (*ḥtr*) Retenu and informed the chiefs of Retenu of their yearly taxes (*b3kw*), and did likewise for the chiefs of Nubia.[89] Minmose describes in fuller detail Thutmose's plundering in the "region of Takshy,"[90] and while he does report

[87] *m33.n.*(*i*) *rdt ꜥ ḥm.f* occurs in lines 4 and 14, while *m33.n.*(*i*) *sẖrw.f T3-nḥsy* is in line 5. See *Urk*. IV, 1441.16, 1441.18, 1442.16

[88] The only military epithet he bears is "a follower of the king on all his marches," which appears in relation to the mention of Nubia; see *Urk*. IV, 1442.1.

[89] *Urk*. IV, 1442.4-11. "[I] taxed (*ḥtr*) the Retenu … I caused that the chiefs of the Retenu know their taxes (*b3kw*) of every year … I taxed (*ḥtr*) the chiefs of Ta-Nehesy (Nubia) … in taxes of each year." This is quite different from other private accounts, such as that of the soldier Amenemheb-Mahu, who also witnessed Thutmose III's victories, but consistently follows these statements by saying that he either "brought off" prisoners or "made a capture." *Urk*. IV, 890-97; Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 167-72.

[90] Located to the south of Kadesh, north of the Upe region, at the north end of the Anti-Lebanon mountains; see Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 169 n. 23 for references, fig. 1. Minmose's Medamud statue has been interpreted as a chronological ordering of events, creating problems for understanding when the Takshy campaign mentioned took place. Roehrig, *Royal Nurse, Royal Tutor*, 91, suggested that this campaign be placed between years 30 and 33, the latter being the eighth campaign in which Thutmose III crossed the Euphrates. This is contra Gardiner, *AEO* I, 150*-51*, who places all three as part of the eighth campaign. Likewise, der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, 53-56, sees the Tura inscription as pertaining to year 33, and thus the Takshy reference must relate to a different series of events. More recently, Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 174, 242 ff., has argued for its placement after year 42 of Thutmose III, in part based on his reconstruction of Amenemheb-Mahu's autobiography. There is also a possibility that it refers to the year 3 campaign of Amenhotep II. However, if one interprets the inscription as being thematically ordered, then a possible solution presents itself. First we have the actual battles that Minmose witnessed, one in Upper Retenu that included the Euphrates crossing and the other in Nubia; next Minmose describes his responsibilities following those campaigns in setting and collecting the yearly taxes; finally he returns to boasting how it was the might of the king that took the lands and this leads into a more detailed account of the first campaign(s) that Minmose witnessed and his own role in it. *Cf.* Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 101 ff. and 151 ff. for a discussion of the generally thematic ordering of Thutmose III's economia – in the style of "retrospectives" on the part of the king, and 163 ff. for Amenemheb-Mahu's

that he "led the army of brave ones (*mšꜥ ḳnt*) of the king when [he] was as an *ỉdnw* of the king,"[91] this should be understood as part of his administrative duties[92] – much in the same way the herald Intef travelled at the head of the army he provisioned. Rather than leading the troops in battle, Minmose was escorting them on behalf of the king before or after the battle had ended. On his Tura stele, Minmose, as royal scribe, also asserts that he is a "favorite of the king in restoring his monuments" and "one who sets up stelae /// [upon] the foreign land of Naharin [and of Karoy]."[93] The Naharin stele is certainly that set up following the crossing of the Euphrates, which we know Minmose was involved in. As he was younger than Iamunedjeh, it seems likely that he served as an assistant to the controller of works and royal herald in this endeavour. Based on textual parallels with Thutmose III's year 47 stele at Gebel Barkal,[94]

autobiography. The soldier Amenemheb-Mahu also mentions Takshy, and Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 171 f., 174, 242 ff., has suggested that the Takshy campaign either belongs between years 42 and 49, or could perhaps be equated with Thutmose III's final campaign and assault on Kadesh.

[91] *Urk*. IV, 1442.19-20. The reading of *ỉdnw* is somewhat uncertain based on the signs presented in the Urkunden, but nonetheless seems likely: *sšm.n(.ỉ) mšꜥ ḳn n nswt ti.wỉ m ỉdnw n nswt m ỉrw ḏdwt*.

[92] Contra Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 174, who suggests that Minmose was indeed a military official, "a commander of the elite force." The duties of an *ỉdnw* are generally understood to have been primarily administrative in nature, even within the military setting. As, for example, Pehsukher (TT 88) and even Amenemheb-Mahu (TT85), who are both *ỉdnw n mšꜥ* and *ỉdnw n nsw*. As Schulman states, "mostly connected with the provisioning of the army" and "mainly of an administrative nature" Schulman, *MRTO*, 34-5. I would point out that in Schulman's Table 3, which lays out the military hierarchy as he interprets it, he does place both *ỉdnw n mšꜥ* and *ḥry pḏt* in the "combat ranks" field, with the simpler *ỉdnw* as the "service title or post," although *ỉdnw* appears in the combat lists of the earlier tables (Schulman, *MRTO*, 81 ff.); he does not deal with *ỉdnw n nswt*. So also Gnirs, for the later New Kingdom, when *ỉdnw n mšꜥ* shifts from denoting a military office to becoming an administrative label denoting logistical responsibilities within the military, and the titles *ỉdnw n nswt /ḥm.f* become variants for it, suggesting that the holder is a representative (Stellvertreter) of the king in the military sphere; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 25 with n. 202, 102 with n. 532, and 152 with n. 957.

[93] Daressey, "Inscriptions," 258; *Urk*. IV, 1448.11-13: *ỉr ẖr-ꜥ n ỉry-pꜥt ḥꜣty-ꜥ mḥ-ỉb n nswt m smnḫ mnw.f rs-tpw ḥr ḥwt nṯrw smn wḏ /// [ḥr] ḫꜣst Nhrn //[Kꜣ-ry]//*. Karoy is in Nubia, near Napata (Gebel Barkal).

[94] As Spalinger has noted, "Covetous Eyes South" (and for this parallel in particular, 358-62), the wording of Minmose's Medamud statue relating to the taxation of Nubia parallels that of Thutmose III's on his year 47 stele at Gebel Barkal (*Urk*. IV, 1227-1243.8): *ḥtrỉ* is used to describe the type of dues, ships of dome-palm wood are included among the items, and the Nubians are likened to dependants of the palace. *Urk*. IV, 1442.8-11; Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 173. *ḥtrỉ.n.ỉ šmsw*

it seems very likely that the stele Minmose set up in Nubia is this very same stele.[95] Thus Minmose's military activities can be seen as those of a civil official – his duties as a royal scribe and *ỉdnw* of the king concerned taxation, escorting the king's elite troops, and erecting stelae, not actively participating in battles.

Userhat

As *ỉdnw* of the royal herald under Thutmose III, Userhat was certainly Iamunedjeh's main assistant, as also indicated by the depiction and mention of Iamunedjeh, bearing the title of royal herald, in Userhat's tomb (TT56). In addition to being the *ỉdnw* of the royal herald, Userhat was also a royal scribe and scribe who counts bread in Upper and Lower Egypt. While Iamunedjeh was a purely civil official who was brought in to work in the military sphere, I would suggest that Userhat was a civil official connected to the military in a more direct fashion – something of a court-trained man temporarily assigned to the military, but in a purely administrative role. I propose this in part because the scenes in his tomb are in many respects reminiscent of those seen in the tombs of the *ỉdnw* of the king Pehsukher (TT88), as well of the scribe of the army Tjanuny (TT74), discussed above.

For example, when Userhat is depicted watching the bringing of cattle,[96] he is called a scribe who counts bread, but one of the assistants refers to him as the *ỉdnw* of the herald, and in the lower register of this scene he is called the royal scribe and *ỉdnw* of the herald while receiving the deliveries (*ʿḳw*) from/of the "granary of the herald," which are being handed out to soldiers carrying baskets.[97] Perhaps most convincing though is the more famous scene depicting the registration of soldiers, delivery of bread rations, and officials (based on dress) eating bread before storehouses.[98] Although the scene lacks inscriptions, it is clear from the dress and larger size of the individual that it is Userhat who is depicted in the top register standing before the troops, and of course just to the right he presents a bouquet

Tꜣ-Nḥsy m ḏʿmw ḥr ḏʿt.f m nbw ꜣbw hbny ʿḥʿw ʿšꜣw m mꜣmꜣw m ḥtrw n ṯnw rnpt mỉ mrwt ʿḥ.f

[95] Redford, *Wars in Syria-Palestine*, 174, 242 with n. 8, has suggested that Minmose's presence in Nubia be dated to years 49-50 of Thutmose III, but based on the close parallels with Thutmose III's Gebel Barkal stele, it seems more likely that he was involved with an earlier effort, perhaps that of year 35 when Thutmose campaigned down to the area of Kurgus, where he left a boundary stele recording his victory next to that of Thutmose I; *cf.* most recently Davies, "La frontière méridionale de l'Empire," "Kurgus 2000," and "Kurgus 2002."

[96] PM I^{2}/1 (3).

[97] *sšp pꜣ ʿḳw n tꜣ šnwt pꜣ* //[*wḥmw*]//.

[98] PM I^{2}/1 (10).

to Amenhotep II. While there is no mention of crossing the Euphrates River, Userhat does bear typical "military" epithets.[99] It may be that as the *ỉdnw* of Iamunedjeh, Userhat took on the more directly militaristic aspects of the duties assigned to a royal herald, and thus we see him dealing with provisioning troops with bread rations from the granary and butchering of cattle, as Intef did earlier in the dynasty. Although in this capacity Userhat also refers to himself as a scribe who counts, it is the *ỉdnw* title that takes precedence in the inscriptions that accompany these scenes.[100]

Horemheb

Like Userhat, the royal scribe Horemheb (TT78) also fits within the category of officials trained at the court and assigned to the military.[101] He served under Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III as a royal scribe (*šs nsw*), scribe of *nfrw,*[102] and overseer of all royal scribes for the army (*ỉmy-r sš nsw nb n mšꜥw*).[103] In his tomb, Horemheb is depicted in several of these roles, and indeed the scenes are similar to those of Userhat – counting the troops and distributing bread rations paired with a depiction of Horemheb offering a bouquet to Thutmose IV.[104] He was also a master of horses (*ỉmy-r ssmwt*) – and several horses are depicted among the Syrian tribute – but this too could connect him to the court, as he would have been one of many placed in charge of training horses in the royal stables.[105] The fact that he was appointed as tutor to the princess Amenemopet,[106] held several overseer positions within the Amun priesthood, and claims his "royal scribe" title as his most important, further speaks to his true role as a non-military official, and distinguishes him from men such as the career military administrator Tjanuny.

Amenhotep son of Hapu

Amenhotep son of Hapu was one of the most prominent and favored officials of Amenhotep III's cabinet, despite apparently coming from a relatively mid-level family in the Delta. According to the autobiographical inscriptions on his many statues,[107] he was a royal scribe advising the king on religious matters who then became chief of

[99] "One relating to the legs of the lord of the two lands in every place which he travelled" and "one relating to his (*i.e.*, the king's) legs upon all foreign lands."

[100] PM I^2/1 (3), discussed above.

[101] *Cf.* Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 280, 282-83.

[102] See n. 36 above.

[103] See Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 280, 282.

[104] PM I^2/1 (4).

[105] PM I^2/1 (8). Bryan, *Thutmose IV*, 292 f.

[106] Based on the scene and inscription found at PM I^2/1 (6); Amenemopet was a daughter of Thutmose IV.

[107] *Urk*. IV, 1813-1839; *cf.* Varille, *Inscriptions*.

recruits. In this role Amenhotep son of Hapu was in charge of levies, taxes, and organizing captives and others into work teams for Amenhotep III's many building projects, as well assigning troops and the royal navy to police various potentially problematic areas.[108] Indeed, like others who were not truly soldiers but were nonetheless involved with the military endeavors of their kings, Amenhotep son of Hapu also boasts of his role on the battlefield: "I served as chief mouth in front of the valiant ones [*ḳnyw*] to smite the Nubians … I am the one who reckoned the captures of his majesty's victories while I was in front of them."[109] This bears strong similarity to the inscriptions of Intef and Minmose, who also were placed at the head of troops in the course of their duties. Thus, despite Amenhotep son of Hapu's mention of Nubians and victories, it seems most likely that his military involvement was purely at the managerial level.

Conclusions

Based on this brief review of just a handful of 18th Dynasty so-called "military" officials, I offer the conclusion that although there certainly were "true" military men who served as soldiers and/or as administrators, there were also those who, despite carrying military epithets and/or being present on campaigns, were functioning as civil officials. These men did not shift from a civil into a military sphere, but can be seen as performing the civil functions they already held in a military setting. In the case of the many who record their participation on campaigns (Montuiywy, Iamunedjeh, Minmose, possibly Userhat), we can view them as being specifically brought to Syria-Palestine because their abilities made them useful. The same could be said for those civil officials who were sent on missions to Syria-Palestine (Intef, Sennefri), or were attached to the military at an administrative level within Egypt and abroad, but whose careers were not truly military in nature (Intef, Userhat, Horemheb, Amenhotep son of Hapu).

I would suggest that the reason these men report military epithets and describe military-related deeds on their monuments is because their duties in Syria-Palestine (or related to royal activity there), although civil, were nonetheless important. We must remember that many of them served under Thutmose III, at a time when campaigning took place regularly, making it more likely that officials of all types would end up in service to the king in Syria-Palestine, and when pres-

[108] Murnane, "Servant, Seer, Saint"; *cf.* Schulman, *MRTO*, 94 f. and Murnane, "The Organization of Government," 197 f., 218-20.

[109] Schulman, *MRTO*, 49. *Urk.* IV, 1821.17 and 1822.1-2.

ence in the Syro-Palestinian theater was a marker of distinction among officials. While it is true that these men found themselves in a battle situation and thus would certainly have encountered fighting, it is this author's view that this was *not* their primary function, but a factor of circumstance. Rather, their primary function was to perform those civil duties that the king or his camp required, and for which they were brought to Syria-Palestine. Being "on the battlefield" or "in the king's following" did not necessarily mean a role as a soldier. Thus, their campaign accounts and military epithets can be viewed not as an indication of true military involvement, but rather as a marker of the socio-political setting in which these officials functioned. Conducting campaigns in ancient times, as today, entailed an array of services in order to be carried out, from soldier to secretary to engineer. And it is precisely these officials whose exploits were entirely, or at least principally, non-combative in nature, and whose positions within Egypt mirror those they conducted under the auspices of the military, whether at home or abroad, that broaden our picture of the socio-political events of the 18th Dynasty.

Abbreviations

ARE II	Breasted, J.H. *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Records from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. Vol. II. London: Histories & Mysteries of Man Ltd., 1988.
DM	Davies, N. de G., and M.F.L. Macadam. *Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957.
PM I^2/1	Porter, B., and R.L.B. Moss. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Vol. I: The Theban Necropolis, Part 1: Private Tombs*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960.
Urk. IV	Sethe, K. *Historische-Biographische Urkunden*, Bd. 1-4, Heft 1, 3, 7, 9/10, 12, 13. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906-1909. Helck, W. *Historische / Biographische Inschriften*, Heft 17, 18, 21. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1955, 1956, 1958.
WB I	Erman, A. and H. Grapow. *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, Bd. I. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1971.

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This Far and Not a Step Further! The Ideological Concept of Ancient Egyptian Boundary Stelae

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Abstract

This paper reconsiders the ancient Egyptian tradition of setting up stelae as boundary markers by discussing examples from the Middle and New Kingdoms.

The stelae originating from Nubia, Egypt, and the ancient Near East will be analysed in order to obtain a better understanding of their ideological concept. The main focus will be on the question of where the stelae had originally been erected, thus allowing their supposed addressees to be narrowed down. Unfortunately, most of the monuments have not been found *in situ*. With respect to the twin boundary stelae dated to year 16 of Senusret III and discovered in the fortresses of Semna-West and Uronarti, there is strong evidence that they were replaced during the 18th Dynasty and incorporated in shrines to guarantee their participation in the cult of their deified owner.

However, the fact that later kings worshipped stelae of their deified predecessors within temples does not necessarily imply that these monuments were set up in a cultic environment at the time of their erection. The question remains if the stelae were originally raised at easily visible spots, rather than in almost invisible shrines. Until now their supposed location has been discussed controversially among scholars, due foremost to the lack of evidence. With the most recent finds from Tell el-Borg in mind, this paper takes a new look at old data to improve our understanding of the entire group of ancient Egyptian boundary stelae.

Introduction

The tradition of marking or defining borders with the help of boundary stelae is well known throughout culture and time. Various types for various reasons were established and used over thousands of years. A look at examples from the early modern age shall give us an idea of what one might find in the original environment.

In the vicinity of the old border region between the Electorate of Mainz (Kurmainz) and Hesse-Darmstadt a collection of boundary markers has survived. The examples chosen depict on one side the heraldic animal of Hesse, the Hessian lion on its shield, and mention the year of their erection, 1674 CE. The other side shows a wheel – symbolizing Kurmainz (Figs. 1-2).

The double sided decoration clearly conveys the message to the literate or illiterate who bypasses the stones: the wheel faces Kurmainz and the lion Hesse. Thus, everyone knew that he crossed the border in one direction or the other – regardless of its administrative, political or legal connotation. How times have changed is illustrated



Fig. 1 Boundary stone dated to year 1674, marking the border between the Electorate of Mainz (Kurmainz) and Hesse-Darmstadt. Open air collection of border markers at the Heimatmuseum of Mörfelden, Number 5, VS. Photo by C. Vogel.



Fig. 2 Boundary stone dated to year 1674, marking the border between the Electorate of Mainz (Kurmainz) and Hesse-Darmstadt. Open air collection of border markers at the Heimatmuseum of Mörfelden, Number 12, RS. Photo by C. Vogel.

by a more recent example from the border between the federal states of Thuringia and Saxonia as the marker entirely lacks all iconic power (Fig. 3).

One might ask what these simple boundary markers have to do with old Egyptian ones? That is exactly one of the questions this paper seeks to approach: is the group of Egyptian boundary stelae really unique in terms of concept and ideology? Can they be regarded as a homogeneous group at all? Furthermore, are the Egyptian items comparable to border markers found all over the world?[1]

Terminology

As one might imagine these questions lead us at first to the definition and clear distinction of types and terminology. I am aware of the fact that the (modern) use of the term "boundary stelae," and in this context the question of the Egyptian understanding of borders and/or frontiers (*tꜣš.w*),[2] deserve an in-

[1] One should firsthand think of the *kudurru* from Babylonia, see Steinmetzer, *Die babylonischen Kudurru*. For an overview of boundary stones as testified in various cultures and times, compare Simmerding, *Grenzzeichen, Grenzsteinsetzer und Grenzfrevler*.

[2] For a distinction in terminology between boundary and frontier I refer to



Fig. 3 Modern border marker between Thuringia and Saxony (near Windischleuba). © Wikipedia, Dundak, CC-by-sa/2.5.

depth discussion that can not be offered here. I will nevertheless try to give at least an overview of the broad range of various types that are usually called or attested as boundary stelae. Roughly speaking, two main types should be distinguished:

- Stelae which were set up to define Egypt's *external frontiers* = Group I
- Stelae which were set up to define Egypt's *internal frontiers* = Group II

For both groups various subtypes can be claimed and shall be introduced hereafter.

Group I

I.1 The items of the first group have in common that they were thought to define a concrete border line between foreign and Egyptian territory, regardless of whether this assumed border was corresponding to reality or fiction. It is foremost the text engraved on the small Semna stela (Berlin 14753)[3] which offers the perfect example of the idea of "this far and no step further." Thus, foreigners were not allowed to enter territory which the Egyptians considered as their own property.[4]

Quirke, "Frontier or Border?" 261: "A boundary may be fixed or loose or, in my view, somewhere in between. By frontier I mean a loose boundary, that is an indefinite zone where the polity comes to an end. In contrast a border is a fixed line."

A likewise detailed and concise study of Egyptian terminology related to borders in the light of imperialism is Galán, *Victory and border*. Focussing on the 18th Dynasty, he additionally deals with a huge amount of earlier material. For a compilation and discussion of the term *ṯ3š*, compare Galán, *Victory and border*, 101-35.

[3] The stela will be discussed further below.

[4] In his most recent book Laszlo Török discusses the frontier region between Southern Egypt and Nubia thoroughly, Török, *Between two worlds*, 7. For the Middle Kingdom he denies the existence of clearly drawn frontier lines which one might conclude from the texts of the boundary stelae declaring the prohibition of passing Egypt's frontiers, as can be inferred from the text of the small Semna stela and others. What I am missing in his work and others is a clear statement of why one should expect such frontier lines

I.2 Comparable to the objects of the first group are the so-called "victory stelae," as long as they simultaneously offer hints that they have been erected in order to establish new borders or protect old ones. Among them is the famous Gebel Barkal stela dedicated to Amun-Re which describes a number of deeds performed by Thutmose III until his 47th year (Boston, MFA 23.733).[5] Here it is the stela itself that offers rare evidence about its original place of erection:

> He made (the stela) as his monument for his father Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, within the fortress (called) 'Slaughter of the Desert Dwellers', making for him a resting place for eternity,…[6]

Even here, in terms of royal ideology it does not make a difference if we deal with a historical or a "historicizing" monument as long as its existence documents influence over a territory. In this context it is worth considering that Rolf Gundlach favours the idea that the victories against Kush as claimed by Amenhotep III in his three Aswan stelae are utterly fictitious.[7]

I.3 A small group of stelae display icons of propaganda with clear messages addressed to an illiterate or an imaginary enemy and can be regarded as some sort of "warning signs." The most famous example, roughly dated to the Middle Kingdom up to the Second Intermediate Period, was found in the Western desert east of Argin (Khartoum, NM 14221). The representation engraved on the lower part of the small sandstone stela depicts an Egyptian soldier equipped with bow and arrows behind a kneeling and bound Nubian enemy. The inscription accompanying the image refers to "Horus, lord of the foreign countries, the great god, lord of heaven."[8]

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in Nubia at all. I am wondering why one is always looking for border-like situations as they exist nowadays, as for instance between Egypt and the Sudan, highly artificial and developed at the drawing-board. I would prefer a discussion about the question of whether the Egyptians controlled almost every single water source in Nubia, and as such owned control over the indigenous people's movement throughout Nubia. If we recall that the Egyptian fortresses along the Second Cataract were linked and protected by huge mud brick walls preventing the Nubians from coming to the richest water resource Nubia had to offer – the Nile – what else than a linear frontier line should we call this?

[5] *Urk*. IV 1227-1243.8; Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III*, 193-208, offers a thorough discussion of the stela.

[6] After Török, *Between two worlds*, 19.

[7] Gundlach, *Vom Ende Amenophis' II. bis zur Volljährigkeit Amenophis' III.,* 195-219, esp. 215.

[8] Wildung, *Sudan. Antike Königreiche am Nil*, 84, and upper image on 85. Sandstone stela: height 45.8 cm, width 33 cm, depth 9.4 cm.

Excursus – Way Markers

Even if not properly belonging to one of the two main groups, it is nevertheless worth discussing the collection of way markers. Most of them were thought to flank Egyptian tracks or streets, in order to inform the traveler about the distance he had already passed or still had to overcome.[9]

That the marking of streets with stelae, or *alamats*, was a common feature is attested by the hieroglyph used for the term street – "*w3t*" – representing a road flanked by three such items. Gardiner explained the sign, N31, as a road bordered by shrubs.[10] Archaeological evidence comes from an early survey by Petrie who traced many stelae along one of the main roads of the western desert, linking Memphis/Saqqara with the Fayoum.[11]

A special status can be ascribed to a somewhat inconspicuous sandstone stela, dated to the 18th year of an unnamed king, probably Senusret I (Fig. 4). The piece was found laying upside down 20 kilometres southwest of Aswan, only metres distant from one of the routes leading from Aswan to Kurkur. Graeff assumes that it might have functioned as a way marker for the Elephantine road.[12] Apart from the date, the stela is decorated with two small figures representing an archer and a prisoner comparable to those known from the Argin stela introduced above. Against this background one might wonder if the idea of such monuments could be twofold: to function as a way marker and to warn foreigners not to use streets in the wrong direction, thus to not enter Egypt![13]

Group II

II.1 Another group can be defined by boundary stones which marked the border between two nomes.[14] This group heavily recalls the ones dating to the early modern age introduced at the beginning of this

[9] Graeff, *Die Straßen Ägyptens*, 9-12.

[10] Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 489.

[11] Petrie, *A Season in Egypt*, XXVI.

[12] Graeff, *Die Straßen Ägyptens*, 113-14.

[13] A more sophisticated and multilingual variation is known from later times connected with a project of digging a freshwater canal to link the Nile to the Red Sea at the head of the Gulf of Suez, finalized by Darius. The original line of the canal was marked at intervals by huge free-standing granite stelae which were carved on both sides. Whereas one side bore Egyptian designs and hieroglyphic texts the other carried a varying text in three languages: Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian. Thus, the Persian king wanted to make sure that his statements about his channel project could be understood by every literate person who passed his propagandistic monuments. Moreover, as the texts differ here and there, one obviously followed the various needs of the supposed addressees. For their historical context, compare Vittmann, *Ägypten und die Fremden*, 135-36.

[14] Müller-Wollermann, "Gaugrenzen und Grenzstelen"; Habachi, *Building Activities of Sesostris I*.



Fig. 4 Detail from a stela found 20 km southwest of Aswan on the road to Kurkur. The item is dated to year 18 of an unnamed king and shows an archer and a bound prisoner. Aswan, Nubian Museum, no number. Photo by C. Vogel.

paper.

II.2 A further large and important assemblage can be defined by stelae that marked the limits of their owners' property.

In this context one should distinguish between stelae which function as actual border markers, and those whose inscriptions record a dated royal command donating a piece of land to a temple or likewise its priesthood.[15]

II.2.1 An interesting example for an actual border marker is known from a representation in the so-called "British Museum Tomb" dated to the reign of Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III (London, BM EA 37982).[16] It depicts a scene of field measurement that includes an oath spoken over a small round-topped boundary stela:

> *wꜣḥ pꜣ nṯr ꜥꜣ ntj m tꜣ p.t jw pꜣ wḏ mtr ꜥḥꜥ.w pꜣj=f*
>
> "As true as the great god lasts in the sky: this stela is at its right place."

It is remarkable that even an assumed simple land mark needed magical support to guarantee that it was placed at the right location.[17]

[15] Galán groups them under the term "border and donation stelae," Galán, *Victory and border*, 137-42.

[16] Parkinson, *The painted tomb-chapel of Nebamun*, 112-15, incl. figs. 118-20; Klug, "Darstellungen von Königstelen," 64-65.

[17] No matter what kind of border a stela had to define, its precise setting up and its lasting at the right place was of utmost importance. This becomes clear when we investigate its legal aspects over time and space.

A famous codex known as the "Halsgerichtsordnung" compiled in the reign of the Emperor Karl the Vth (1532 CE) threatens those with severe punishment who move a border stone: Straff der jhenen felschlich vnd betrieglich vndermarckung, reynung, mal oder marcksteyn verruckt abhawet, abthut, der verendert, der soll darumb peinlich am leib nach geuerlicheyt groß gestalt vnnd gelegenheyt der sachen vnd der person, nach radt gestrafft werden. Paragraph 114, compare online resource: www.llv.li/pdf-llv-la-recht-1532__peinliche_halsgerichtsordnung__carolina_.pdf (last visited on September 14, 2010). An Egyptian example comes from the famous Nauri decree of Sety I. Here it is said that officials who remove stones which were thought to fence off temple estates would be punished by cutting their ears off and had to face hard labour: "…Now as for any high officer, any superintendent of land belonging to this estate, any keeper of plough-oxen(?), any inspector who

Although the iconographic record proves their erection at the end of the fields, none of them has been found *in situ*.

II.2.2 A characteristic example for a royal donation stela was found in the North Temple at Buhen (Ashmolean, 1893/174). The item dates to the reign of Thutmose IV and marked the northern boundary of a piece of land in Per-Heja belonging to the first prophet of Horus of Buhen. The text testifies that fertile land in the environs of Buhen was owned by the temples and their priesthoods and that a need existed to define their borders.[18] The find spot of the stela within a temple should most likely correspond with the original location of this type of stela in general. One might follow Galán who expects them to be placed in temples where they were kept in order to bear witness to the king's donation to the temple.[19]

Boundary Stelae Defining Concrete Border Lines Between Foreign and Egyptian Territory

It seems obvious that every single sub-group mentioned above deserves to be discussed by a paper of its own. In order to remain close to the topic of this conference, I will concentrate on those items which contain textual or iconographic evidence that the Egyptians themselves thought them to function as boundary markers between their and foreign territory. Thus, I will focus in the following on examples belonging to Group I.1. A special concern will be to analyse hints of their original locations as I consider the answer to this question as a key to understand their ideological concept.

Middle Kingdom Examples

Boundary Stela of Senusret III, Year 8, from Semna-West (Berlin 14753)

Already mentioned above, this is an early and famous example of a stela (*wḏ*) set up outside Egypt proper and simultaneously referring to mark Egypt's and the king's *tꜣš;* its border dates to year eight of Senusret III (Fig. 5).[20]

Its original location at Semna-West is unknown. It is generally

shall interfere with the boundary of lands belonging to the House (etc.), to move their boundaries, punishment shall be done to him by cutting off his ears, he being put to be a cultivator in the Residence…"; after Griffith, "The Abydos Decree of Seti I at Nauri," 202. It seems clear that those harsh penalties were thought a powerful deterrent. They likewise underline their need! Moreover, when justice failed, curses took over. In the Bible, Deuteronomy 5, 27:17, those who move the border (marker) of their neighbours are thought to be damned. For a general discussion of justice and magical alternatives, see Assmann, "When Justice Fails."

[18] Smith, *The Fortress of Buhen*, 203, 210, and pl. LXXXI.2

[19] Galán, *Victory and border*, 142.

[20] Measurements: height 83 cm, width 80.5 cm-82.5 cm, depth 32 cm.

assumed that the stela was erected after a military expedition in the area.[21] If we follow the almost accepted opinion that a stela of this kind can not be considered to have been erected outside protecting enclosure walls, we have to conclude that the fortress of Semna-West already existed at this point in time.

Moreover, besides the remarkable text that refuses any Nubian to pass the border except in order to trade at Mirgissa, some further observations should be kept in mind.

The stela shows the sign for West in its lunette, which might indicate the possibility that a second stela existed bearing the sign for East. Such a stela could have been erected at Kumma on the eastern bank of the Nile, but lacks evidence.[22]

Christian Loeben, who discussed the broken lower part of the stela, offered a new idea of how one should reconstruct the image that had been thought to depict no more than 3 bound Nubians kneeling in row. He suggested that those Nubians could have been originally depicted three times – symbolizing the unit of the 9 enemies (Nine Bows).

Regardless if three or nine enemies might have been represented on the stela, we should nevertheless be aware that boundary stelae might possess representations that can not be misunderstood due to their clear iconic message.[23]

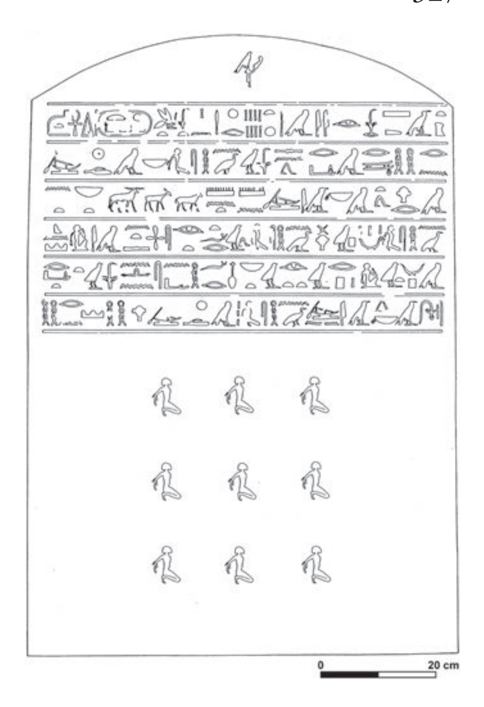


Fig. 5 Boundary stela of Senusret III, year 8, from Semna-West, Berlin 14753. After Loeben, "Bemerkungen zur sogenannten „Kleinen Semna-Stele" (Berlin 14753)," 281, Fig. 3.

Boundary Stela of Senusret III, Year 16, from Semna-West (Berlin 1157)

Up to now many scholars have given close attention to the famous boundary stela of Senusret III found by the Lepsius expedition (in

21 Galán, *Victory and border*, 146-47; Meurer, *Nubier in Ägypten bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*.

22 Meurer, Nubier in *Ägypten bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches*, 4.

23 Compare the examples from Argin and the Elephantine road, quoted above.

1844) at Semna-West (Fig. 6).[24]

The monument, dating from his 16th regnal year, is usually thought to originate from a shrine within the fortress. Richard Parkinson for instance states:

> this stela … was set up in the shrine of the recently established frontier fortress Semna, overlooking the Nile at the southern end of the second cataract.[25]

This sounds as though there could not be the slightest doubt about the context in which the stela had been found. Unfortunately, its original place of erection is far from being certain. In his diaries Lepsius does not mention at all where the stela had been discovered. An eye-view drawing by Georg Gustav Erbkam, a member of the expedition, gives the only small hint where the Lepsius team might have found the item.

Close to the edge of the rock plateau a half round object can be traced that could resemble the monument in question. Stephan Seidlmayer was the first to notice this on the drawing and thus brought forward the idea that it should be identified with the famous stela dating from the 16th year of Senusret III.[26]



Fig. 6 Boundary stela of Senusret III, year 16, from Semna-West, Berlin 1157. After Obsomer, "Les campagnes de Sésostris dans Hérodote," 182.

He argues that the rounded top of the object is more characteristic for the younger stela than for those of the older dating from year 8.[27] If we leave the small uncertainty about its identity aside, we have to recognise the similarity of the find spot with that of the Uronarti stela which will be discussed below.

[24] Seidlmayer, "Zu Fundort und Aufstellungskontext der großen Semna-Stele Sesostris' III.," 233-35.

[25] Parkinson, *Voices from ancient Egypt*, 43.

[26] Seidlmayer, *Pharao setzt die Grenzen* and "Zu Fundort und Aufstellungskontext der großen Semna-Stele Sesostris' III.," 233-34.

[27] Seidlmayer, "Zu Fundort und Aufstellungskontext der großen Semna-Stele Sesostris' III.," 234, esp. ref. 6.

Boundary Stela of Senusret III, Year 16, from Uronarti (Khartoum No. 451)

Everybody knows the just discussed Semna stela, kept in Berlin, whose image has been published hundreds of times, whereas its counterpart from Uronarti leads a shadow existence in the National Museum Khartoum (Fig. 7).

This is indeed regrettable as the latter has to be considered at least as important as the item from Semna-West. First of all, its sheer existence has to be named, thus proving that those stelae were not automatically thought of as single items to be set up at a single place! Moreover, the Uronarti text differs from the Semna version in so far as it states the building of the fortress of Uronarti as the date of its erection:

> Stela made in year 16, third month of peret, when the fortress *Ḫsf ꞽIwntjw* "Repelling the Iuntiu" (=Uronarti) was built

Whereas the one from Semna-West should mark Egypt's border at *Ḥḥ*:

> Year 16, third month of peret, his majesty made the southern boundary at Hech (Second cataract region)

So far, only two scholars have shown some interest in the item from Uronarti:

Jozef Janssen published the curious circumstances under which the stela found its way from Uronarti

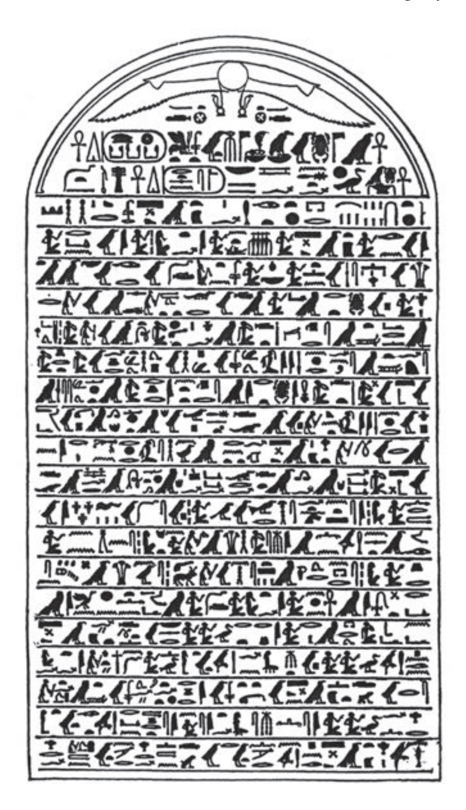


Fig. 7 Boundary stela of Senusret III, year 16, from Uronarti, SNM, Khartoum No. 451. After Budge, *The Egyptian Sudan. Its History and Monuments I*, 545.

to Khartoum and offered a transcription and translation of the text.[28] In his small monograph on the various building stages of the chapel of Senusret III at Uronarti, Charles van Siclen tried to figure out how and where the stela might have been incorporated (Fig. 8). He states:

> One additional element quite possibly stood on this terrace, although evidence is indeed slim.

[28] Janssen, *The stela (Khartoum Museum no. 3) from Uronarti.*

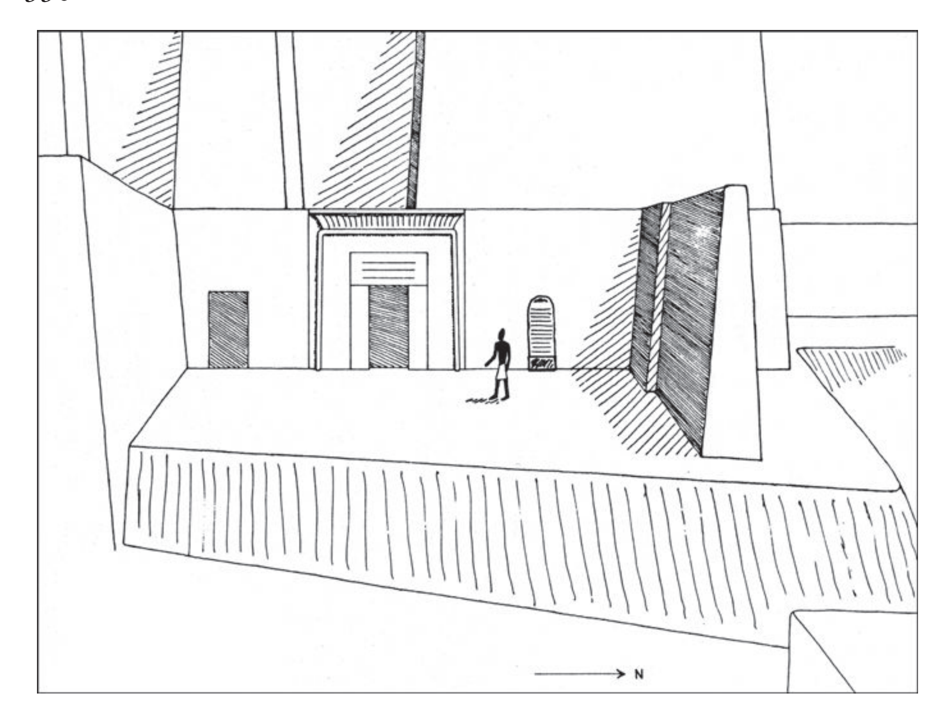


Fig. 8 Possible location of the Uronarti stela. After van Siclen III, *The Chapel of Sesostris at Uronarti*, 22, Fig. 10.

The great stela dated to year 16 of Sesostris III was found overthrown at the edge of the temple bastion (fig. 3, marked x). There is no precise indication of its original placement, but it would seem reasonable that it stood in a prominent and visible position near the chapel, inasmuch as it was intended both as a political statement and warning to the local populace and later related to the cult of the deified Sesostris III. Thus I would suggest that it stood on the terrace as a counterbalance to the southwest door leading to the north gate of the fortress and, perhaps of more significance, more or less on the axis of the first stage temple and its niche.[29]

The find spots of the stelae from Uronarti and Semna-West show close parallels as traced by Seidlmayer. It is from there that he brought forward the idea that the Semna stela might have been originally located outside the main wall close to the steps leading to the water, where he assumes the Middle Kingdom temple was.[30] As attractive as this hypothesis sounds it neglects the fact that the New Kingdom temple of Semna-West was located within the fortress. And it is exactly here where scholars

[29] Van Siclen, *The Chapel of Sesostris III at Uronarti*, 25.

[30] Seidlmayer, "Zu Fundort und Aufstellungskontext der großen Semna-Stele Sesostris' III.," 242.

presume the stela's (re)placement. Thus, the find spot of the stela outside the walls – without any hints for a temple – could be explained in a different way:

1. At an unknown point in time someone had tried to pull the monument from the interior of the fortress – most likely from the temple region – to the outside, or

2. The stela had never been incorporated into the New Kingdom temple within the walls and was simply found close to its primary location – next to the stairs leading to the water.

Some additional remarks with respect to the fabrication of the stela from Uronarti should be given here. During a visit to the National Museum Khartoum, I took the chance to study the monument more closely (Fig. 9).

The item measures 150 cm by 80 cm by 37 cm. Whereas the front side is perfectly polished as are the first ten to twenty centimetres of the upper part and the sides, the rest remains roughly hewn and unpolished.

Regardless of where the original location of the stela might have been, it seems most likely that the item was shaped for front view only and embedded in a mud brick wall. In my view the irregular shape of its sides and its top speaks against a free standing position, even if one assumes that it was placed in front of a wall.[31]

Boundary Stelae Found in the Context of Fortresses

The two almost identical boundary stelae from Uronarti and Semna-West testify that they neither existed nor functioned as unique specimens. Moreover, one might ask if they were part of an ideological system.

Senusret III can be considered as the most important Middle Kingdom pharaoh within Nubia. It was he who established the chain of fortresses at the second cataract.[32] Various Nubian campaigns are attested in his reign and the highly fortified installations helped to endure his success. I assume that the Egyptians considered their Nubian fortresses as a kind of microcosm within a foreign territory. Unfortunately, a microcosm corresponding to the ideas of *maat* but within a world devoted to the chaotic elements of *isfet*. A situation that urgently needed magical support. And stelae, like the ones introduced, offered such a

[31] Comparable observations were made by Seidlmayer on the older Semna stela, Seidlmayer, "Zu Fundort und Aufstellungskontext der großen Semna-Stele Sesostris' III.," 235. Unfortunately, the original appearance of this stela can not be reconstructed as it was treated badly when its original height was reduced in order to simplify its transport.

[32] Vogel, *Ägyptische Festungen und Garnisonen*, 69-77.



Fig. 9 Boundary stela of Senusret III, year 16, from Uronarti, SNM, Khartoum No. 451. Photo by C. Vogel.

support. Their texts sound as if they were written to be declared in public. Among the main points is the statement that the king made the boundary further to the south than his predecessors. To get a better understanding, I provide the text of the Semna stela in full length:[33]

Horus: Divine of forms,
Two Ladies: Divine of manifestations,
Dual King: Khakaure given life,
Golden Horus: being,
Re's bodily son, whom he loves,
The lord of the two lands: Senusret,
Given life, stability, power for all time!
Year 16, month 3 of Peret:
His majesty made the southern boundary at Hech.

I have made my boundary, outsouthing my forefathers.
I have exceeded what was handed down to me.
I am a king, whose speaking is acting,
What happens by my hand is what my heart plans,
One who is aggressive to capture,
Swift to success,
Who sleeps not with a matter (still) in his heart,
Who takes thought for the dependants, and stands by mercy,
Who is unmerciful to the enemy that attacks him,
Who attacks when attacked,
And is quiet when it is quiet,
Who responds to a matter as it happens.

For he who is quiet after attack,
He is making the enemy's heart strong.
Aggression is bravery,
Retreat is vile.
He who is driven from his boundary is a true back-turner,[34]

[33] After Parkinson, with minor revision, *Voices from ancient Egypt*, 43-46; for a detailed textual study, compare Eyre, "The Semna-Stelae."

[34] Morenz, *Sinn und Spiel der Zeichen*, 167, refers in the case of the younger Semna stela to a special sign (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, D53, 456) that was used to characterize/symbolize a – from the king's point of view – unmanly behaviour; a behaviour the king does not want to see from his followers and thus will not toler-

> Since the Nubian only has to hear to fall at a word:
> answering him makes him retreat.
> One is aggressive to him and he shows his back;
> Retreat and he becomes aggressive.
> Not people to be respected –
> They are wretches, broken-hearted!
> My person has seen it – it is not untruth,
> For I have plundered their women, and carried off their underlings,
> Gone to their wells, driven off their bulls,
> Torn up their corn, and put fire to it.
> As my father lives for me,
> I speak true;
> Here is no boastful phrase
> Which has come from my mouth.
>
> Now, as for any son of mine who shall make firm this boundary
> My person made,
> He is my son, born of my person,
> The son who vindicates his father is a model,
> Making firm the boundary of his begetter.
> Now as for him who shall neglect it, shall not fight for it –
> No son of mine, not born to me!
> Now my person has caused an image of my person to be made,
> Upon this boundary which my person made,
> So that you shall be firm for it, so that you shall fight for it.

As Galán pointed out,[35] Egyptian language does not have a term for "Empire" or "Imperialism" as the Egyptians did not often feel the need to create terms for abstractions. They rather used expressions that referred to an activity. Galán states with Bleiberg that the only expression which comes close to the modern word "Imperialism" is (the phrase) *swsḫ tꜣš* "to widen the borders." Exactly this phrase is attested in our stelae. From the historical point of view it is therefore of utmost historical interest to note that this term did loose its significance in the royal propagandistic phraseology after Ramesses III.[36]

But back to the two stelae. They are appeals to successors and those who have to maintain the borders, as becomes clear from the final lines culminating in the phrases:

> Now as for him who shall neglect it, shall not fight for it –
> He is no son of mine, not born to me!
> Now my person has caused an

ate. The textual context goes: "…Attack is valour, retreat is cowardice/disgrace(ful). A true coward is the one who allows to be driven away from his own border,…" Morenz names the sign "phallus of a coward" and it shows an urinating or ejaculating penis. According to Morenz the sign visualizes in a graphic-metaphorical way of Middle Kingdom royal ideology a premature ejaculation. But this sounds highly speculative and it might be more reasonable to assume simply an urinating phallus that could symbolize a man who is frightened to death and thus loosing control over his body's functions.

35 Galán, *Victory and border*.

36 Zibelius-Chen, "Das nachkoloniale Nubien," esp. 201 incl. n. 35.

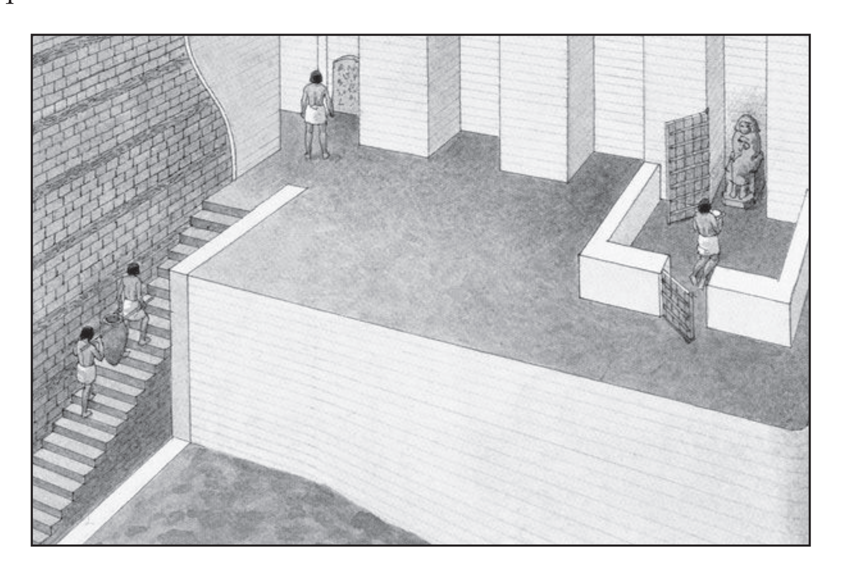


Fig. 10 Possible first location of the boundary stela from Uronarti. Image by Brian Delf from Vogel, "The Fortifications of Ancient Egypt 3000-1780 BC," 33. © Osprey Publishing Ltd, www.ospreypublishing.com.

> image of my person to be made,
> Upon this boundary which my person made,
> So that you shall be firm for it, so that you shall fight for it.

Why not interpret that these stelae were created to be read aloud in the presence of the garrison when a fortress was built or inaugurated, as one might conclude from the Uronarti stela? The best place to set up such stelae would be in the entrance area of the fortress (Fig. 10).

The stelae and likewise the statues of Sensuret III were not found *in situ* but were obviously reused and honoured in smaller temples due to the deification of their original owner by his successor Thutmose III.[37]

This by no means justifies us to expect a corresponding original location in the 12th Dynasty. More recent excavations might help us to get an idea what I have in mind. At Tell el-Borg, James Hoffmeier discovered scattered remains of stelae whose possible placement can be seen in this reconstruction[38] (Fig.11).

Even if those stelae might differ from the Middle Kingdom ones found in Nubia, especially as their

[37] Compare Seidlmayer, "Zu Fundort und Aufstellungskontext der großen Semna-Stele Sesostris' III."; Vogel, *Ägyptische Festungen und Garnisonen*, 73-77; Konrad, "Der Hemispeos von Ellesija," esp. 230-37.

[38] I am most grateful to James Hoffmeier who kindly provided me with the manuscript of his unpublished article on the Ramesside gate of the fortress, see Hoffmeier, The Gate of the Ramesside Period."

original context is yet still unknown, their position at a prominent place deserves to be considered.

New Kingdom Examples[39]

Thutmose I – Kurgus Rock Inscription, Between the 4th and 5th Cataract, Located on the East Bank of the Nile, Hagar el-Merwa

Deep in Upper Nubia at the site of modern-day Kurgus – beyond the Abu Hammad bend of the Nile – Thutmose I chose a massive quartz rock in order to carve an ideologically important inscription to mark the new southern boundary of his empire (Fig. 12).

Moreover, the text defines the site as one end of the well-organised cosmos as ordained by Amun-Re.

As Vivian Davies has pointed out, this landmark, embellished with native rock drawings, might have been of great spiritual significance for the indigenous population.[40] Obliterating a huge amount of the native matter while simultaneously threatening dire consequences for any Nubian who violated the monument gives us a clear understanding of Egyptian ideology. Regardless if any Nubian has ever read or could even understand the message, its magical value is obvious by the choice of the site, the destroying of the native material by overwriting and, of course, by its content. The monument is not framed by a stela-shaped line, but shows the typical division in image and text section. The image depicts the Horus-name of Thutmose I in interaction with Amun-Re.[41]

The inscription does not give a specific date but most likely originates from Thutmose I's early years. The text is nothing less than a threat formulae directed to the Nubians, comparable to the smaller Semna stela. The most recent research of Vivian Davies verifies its reading. It says:

> As for any Nubian who shall transgress (or violate) this stela, which my father Amun has given to me, his chieftains shall be slain, he shall endure in my grasp, the sky shall not rain for him, his cattle shall not calve, there shall be no heir of his on earth.[42]

The significance of the site and the inscription becomes clear from the fact that Thutmose III carved an exact copy of it next to that of his grandfather.

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[39] As the famous Tombos Stela of Thutmose I does not match with the criteria of a boundary stela it is not included here.

[40] Davies, "New fieldwork at Kurgus" and "Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian Inscriptions."

[41] Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III.*, 79; Davies, "New fieldwork at Kurgus," 26-29.

[42] Davies, "Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian Inscriptions," 57; *cf.* Török, *Between two worlds*, 15.

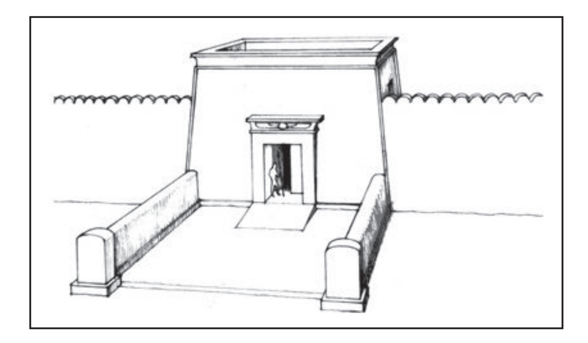


Fig. 11 Reconstruction of the Ramesside Gate at Tell el Borg. Drawn by J. E. Knudstad, in Hoffmeier, "The Gate of the Ramesside Period," 212, Fig. 5.

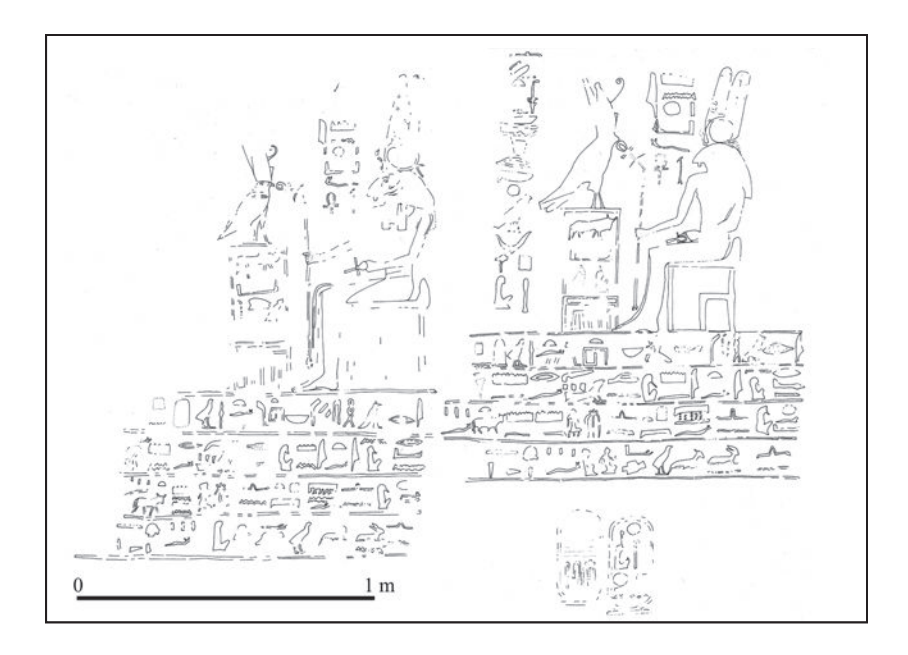


Fig. 12 Kurgus: Boundary inscriptions of Thutmose I (right) and Thutmose III (left), as well as cartouches of Ramesses II. After Davies, "Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian Inscriptions," 49, Fig. 4.

Historical Inscription of Thutmose III

Moreover, a further inscription of this king traced by Davies is of outstanding historical interest (Fig. 13).[43]

It reads:

> 1. Not any king has reached the southernmost limit from Naharin to Kush
>
> 2. since that my person returned to the boundary of the north and (to

[43] Davies, "Kush in Egypt: a new historical inscription."

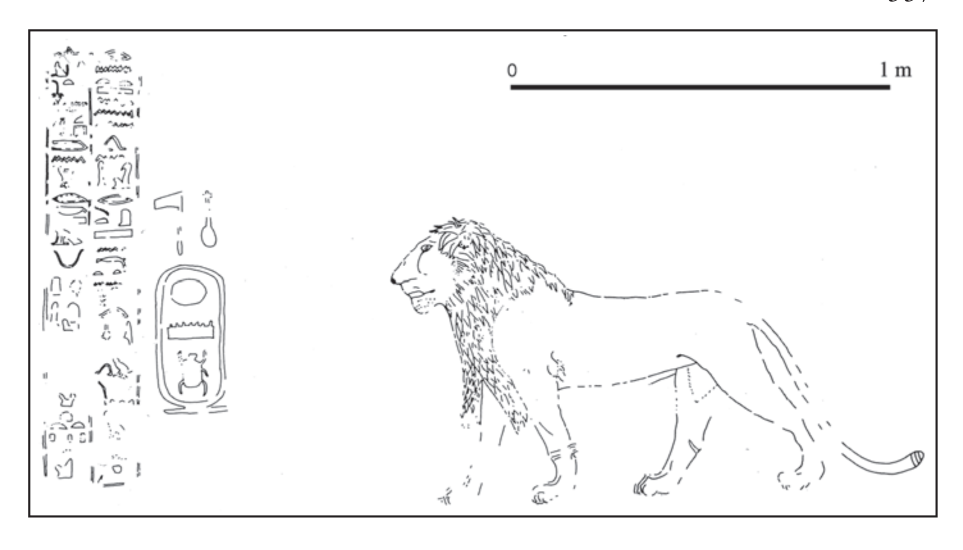


Fig. 13 Historical inscription of Thutmose III. After Davies, "Kurgus 2000: The Egyptian Inscriptions," 51, Fig. 7.

the boundary) of the south, to Miu in (…)

The stela which Thutmose III established to mark the northern border of his empire is known from five royal texts and a private one.[44] Up to now its place of origin, which is thought to be at the Euphrates River near Carchemish next to a stela of Thutmose I[45] and thus comparable to the situation at Kurgus, could not be traced.

Unfortunately, most of the texts are only fragmentarily preserved in exactly those lines where important information could be expected. Thanks to the dissertation of Andrea Klug on royal stelae of the 18th Dynasty we have been made aware of the simple fact that we should go back to the sources and should not read things we want to read.[46] Klug favours the idea that the stelae were rock-cut.[47] She suggests it as unlikely that an Egyptian king could have erected a free-standing stela in a foreign country without an existing temple complex. And that is exactly the dilemma we are caught in: did Egyptian royal ideology really demand the erection of such items within temple walls? Moreover, what does it mean to us with respect to its target group? Are the texts sheer ideology and thus fictitious? Or do we have hints that there is at least a certain group of stelae that should be seen

[44] For a compilation of the references, see Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III.*, 212-13.

[45] Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III.*, 82.

[46] Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III.*, 212-18.

[47] Klug, *Königliche Stelen in der Zeit von Ahmose bis Amenophis III.*, 213.

by Egypt's illiterate enemies too and thus was additionally equipped with an unambiguous iconic message?

I have tried to point out that we have to deal with various types and various functions, but all types have in common that their ideological concept can not be traced by their texts or images alone, we need to look for their original place to detect their function. Thus, place and function belong together and should by no means be substituted by single text interpretations – as important as the latter might be.

It seems sometimes more reasonable to raise appropriate questions than to leave the reader with questionable answers.

Abbreviations

Urk. IV Helck, W. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie: Historische Inschriften Thutmosis' III.* und Amenophis' II. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955.

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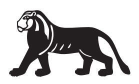
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The Arunah Pass[1]

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Abstract

This paper deals with the geographical pass of Arunah, for a long time considered the most significant among the three roads described in Thutmose III's Annals of his first campaign.[2] These three are classically discussed as a part of the "way of the sea," and the paper suggests a new pass of the latter, together with new understandings of the Egyptian geographical descriptions.

Introduction

The Roman "Via Maris" ("way of the sea"), the ancient road connecting Egypt and Mesopotamia, crossed Sinai and then went northwards along the hills of Samaria. After passing through a hilly obstacle discussed below, it entered the Valley of Jezreel and from there, through different roads, to Damascus and the Euphrates.[3]

The term "way of the sea" is mentioned just once in the Hebrew Bible, in an extremely difficult text (Isaiah 8:23). The combination there "the way of the sea, the land beyond the Jordan, Galilee of the nations ("goiim")" has no parallels, nor has its meaning ever been agreed upon.[4] Moreover, the connection of Isaiah's "way of the sea" to the Roman "Via Maris" is not at all automatic. Another "way of the sea" is mentioned in I Kings 18:43, in the story of Elijah. This "way of the sea" can possibly be the road which crosses the southern Carmel to the east,[5] having again no connection to our issue.

In general, a "road" in the biblical narratives and/or the Egyptian texts is rarely built or paved. Before the road-making in the

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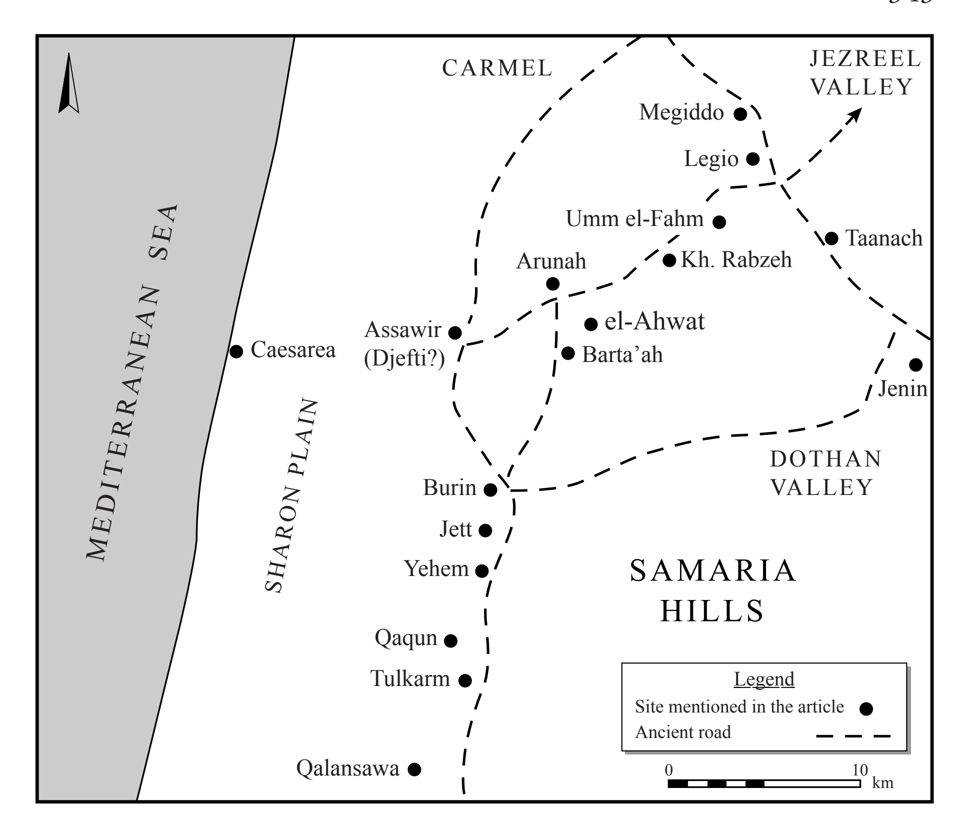
[1] This paper is a revised edition of my Hebrew article about the Arunah Pass ("The 'Iron Pass'"), written following the publication of the 3rd volume of the Manasseh Survey.

[2] *ANET*, 235-38; *Urk*. IV, 650.8-12; Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 424-25.

[3] Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine* II, 218-19; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 45-54; Meshel, "The Way of the Sea – Via Maris"; Rainey, "Toponymic Problems – The Way of the Sea"; Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, 26-28; Zertal, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* I, 31.

[4] *Cf.* for interpretations, Alt, "Isaiah 8,23-9,6"; Childs, *Isaiah – A Commentary*, 78-81; Emerton, "Some Linguistic and Historical Problems in Isaiah 8:23"; Hogenhavn, "On the Structure and Meaning of Isaiah VIII:23B"; Sweeney, "A Philological and Form Critical Re-evaluation of Isaiah 8:16-9:6,"; Zertal, *Sisera's Secret*, 250-51.

[5] *Cf.* also Artzy, "Routes, Trade and 'Nomads of the Sea'."



Map 1 The "way of the sea" and its branches, with the sites discussed.

Roman Period no well-established and maintained roads existed, and "ways" or "roads" were no more than dirt paths, similar to those in use to this very day in the hill country or the Negev desert.

To identify an ancient "road" therefore, we should use the historical documents, together with a thorough knowledge of the topography, water sources and the original vegetation of the area.

The Three Passes

The topography of ancient Canaan is not extreme by elevation, cliffs, *etc*. The obstacles for movement in the Mediterranean regions were rivers, marshes and swamps in the plains, and thick vegetation in the hill country. In our case, the Sharon Plain is separated from the Jezreel Valley by the hills stretching between the Carmel and Samaria.

The first and foremost relevant narratives concerned are those of Thutmose III's first campaign, the "Satirical letter" of Hori from the days of Ramesses II[6] and the campaign of Shishak of the 22nd Dynas-

[6] Papyrus Anastasi I = *ANET*, 475-480.

ty.[7] While Thutmose speaks of the three passes, the two latter relate only to the Arunah Pass.

The roads discussed in the Yehem council of Thutmose are these: first, the southernmost ("eastern") which goes to Taanach; second, the northern one heading to Djefti; and third, the central one, that of Arunah[8] (Map 1).

The generations-long consensus that the Arunah Pass was the most important out of the three was only based upon its relatively detailed description. However, following an archaeological survey along the pass,[9] and the new understandings which followed, this road emerges as difficult and dangerous and the least-used among the three. This issue is discussed in the end of the paper.

The main theme of Thutmose's story, typical to other royal Egyptian documents, is called *Königsnovelle*, which means glorifying the courage of the king.[10] It should be treated, therefore, with general criticism and skepticism. Yet it seems that the Egyptian text in this case has provided us with a fair amount of topographic details, together with the psychological value of the pass.

The story of Thutmose opens at Yehem, where the council of the king's generals took place. The Canaanite army headed by the king of Kadesh waited for the Egyptians near Megiddo, and the council discusses the roads to the battle. Alt has identified Yehem in Tel Assawir, at the western entrance into the Arunah Pass,[11] while Albright has correctly showed that the site should be south of Jett (Gath-Padallah).[12] He based his conclusion on the fact that the council speaks of all three roads as starting north of Yehem, a condition not suiting Tel Assawir (Map 1).

Finally, Yehem was correctly identified at Khirbet Yemmeh, south of Jett. The small fortified tell dating to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages was sounded by Garstang,[13] and supported also by the similarity between the ancient and modern name.

The Canaanite coalition, according to the Annals, was divided into two forces, with Megiddo in between: the first headed south

[7] *ANET*, 263-65; Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 89-101.

[8] *ANET*, 235; *Urk*. IV, 650.8-12; Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 425.

[9] Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, 87-155.

[10] Hoffman, *Die Koenigsnovelle*; Spalinger, "Some Notes on the Battle of Megiddo" and "Some Additional Notes on the Battle of Megiddo."

[11] Alt, "Pharao Thutmosis III in Palaestina" 1914 and 1932.

[12] Albright, "Some Archaeological and Topographical Results," 10.

[13] Garstang, *Joshua-Judges*, 85, 90 and pl. ix.

near Taanach and the second was waiting north of Megiddo. The text, translated by Wilson, is as follows:

> They said in the presence of his majesty: "What is it like to go [on] this [road] which becomes (so) narrow? …Will not horse (have to go) after [horse, and the army] (30) and the people similarly? Will the vanguard of us be fighting while the [rear guard] is waiting here in Arunah, unable to fight? *Now* two (other) roads are here. One of the roads – Behold, it is [*to the east of us*], so that *it* comes out at Taanach. The other – Behold, it is to the (35) north side of Djefti, and we will come out to the north of Megiddo. Let our victorious Lord proceed on the one of [them] which is [satisfactory to] his heart, (but) do not make us go on that difficult road!"[14]

The three passes are identified by sites. The eastern "comes out at *Taanach*"; the central is that of Arunah; and the northern site is marked by *Djefti*.

The Central Road – The Arunah Pass

Previous scholarship concerning this road has been based purely upon textual analysis.[15] The area south of the pass (today's Wadi 'Arah) has never been surveyed before, while that in the north is better known, especially in the last few years.[16] The geology of the area was explored by Sass,[17] but just two works[18] dealing with the pass and its history were published prior to the publication of vol. III of the Manasseh survey in 2000, with the new understanding gained concerning the pass.[19]

The Arunah Pass is a geological fault between the Umm el-Fahm anticline and the soft Senonian hills to its north (Map 2). The pass is 20 km long, which divides into three sections, from west to east: the 6-km long, wide "entrance" from Tel Assawir to 'Arah (Arunah); the Arunah Valley, 3-km long, with springs; and the relatively narrow 11-km long section, from Khirbet Rabzeh to the junction near Tel

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[14] *ANET*, 235; and see the Egyptian original in Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 425.

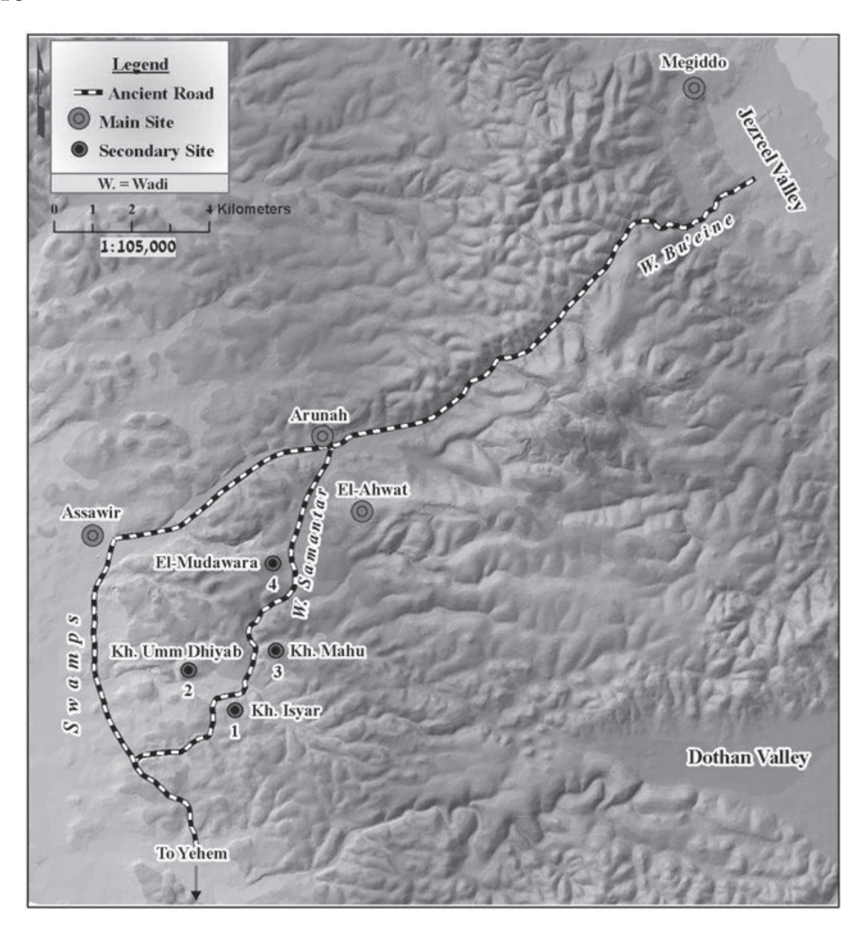
[15] Burkhardt, *et al.*, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Uebersetzung*; Faulkner, "The Battle of Megiddo"; Helck, *Die Beziehungen Aegyptens* and "Das Datum der Schlacht von Megiddo"; Goedicke, *The Battle of Megiddo*; Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo*; Noth, "Die Annalen Thutmose III als Geschichtesquelle"; Spalinger, "Some Additional Notes on the Battle of Megiddo"; Redford, *The Wars in Syria and Palestine*.

[16] Olami, *Daliya Map (31) 15-22*; Gadot, "Megiddo and the International Road"; Gadot and Tepper, "Survey of Regavim Map (49)" http://www.antiquities.org.il/survey.

[17] Sass, "The Geology of the Umm el-Fahm Area, Northern Israel."

[18] Vilnai, "The 'Iron Valley and its Area"; Golani, *The Settlement Geography of the Nahal 'Iron Area*.

[19] *Cf.* Zertal, "The 'Iron Pass'."



Map 2 Map of the Arunah Pass. Numbers of sites are according to the text.

Megiddo. The three tells along the pass are, from west to east, Assawir, Arunah and Megiddo. The western entrance to the road has always been marked near Tel Assawir.[20] Its presence raises the problem why this mound, equivalent to Megiddo by its position, did not continue its existence and develop from the Middle Bronze period onwards.[21] Moreover, the tell is neither identified nor mentioned in known texts.[22]

[20] Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 50 and map 3; Mazar, *Cities and Districts in Eretz Israel*, map on p. 241; Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, map 4.

[21] *Cf.* for results of the excavation Zertal, *Excavations at Tel Assawir*. It is very interesting that in the renewed excavations in the tell (2010), headed by S. Bar, an Egyptian scarab of Amenhotep III was found, together with a destruction level dating to the Late Bronze Age.

[22] In 1977 I raised the possibility that this can be Djefti of the Thutmose Annals. This suggestion should probably be renewed now, in light of the 2010 excava-

A possible reason for its inferiority vis-à-vis Megiddo may be that the main entrance into the pass was not at Assawir, but rather another entrance was used. This option, explored during the survey, was found to be a shorter and more convenient road. Its existence also opens new directions for the understanding of the Egyptian texts.

The geographic problem with the Assawir entrance is its being a marshy area; during the fall, winter and spring, the territory near the tell was regularly flooded[23] and movement was difficult or impossible. It is not a mistake, therefore, that in the Annals the next station moving northwards from Yehem (or Burin) was Arunah,[24] and the same in Shishak's list,[25] with no site in between.

The "new" branch explored in the survey begins at modern Baqa-el-Gharbiyeh (ancient Burin), entering into Wadi Samantar and then straight to Arunah (Map 2). It is 2-3 km shorter than the Assawir one, having overtaken its marshes. Three Iron Age sites are located along this road,[26] together with a square Roman road fortress.[27]

The Samantar road is relatively narrow, located inside thick vegetation and old oak trees. This is beautifully described by a 19th century text of a Jerusalemite Jew, who traveled along this road from Jerusalem to Umm el-Fahm in 1878, in search of citrons:

> There in Qalansawa we rested till afternoon, and then went to the garden of Barta'ah. This road goes through a thick forest of large oaks and pistacia trees, with long branches…this is an awful country…a narrow and twisting path that makes you turn your horse to the right and the left, and sometimes turn backwards, meeting oak trees that block your path, so hard that we could not believe that ever people moved here…when the sun came down we finally saw the garden of Barta'ah.[28]

Interestingly enough this text, written by Joel M. Solomon, a leader in 19th Jerusalem, is very similar to that of Thutmose III's generals. The pass is marked in the British PEF survey as a good track.[29]

The same pass was used in modern times (the thirties of the

tions, and see above, n. 21; *cf.* Na'aman, "Topographical and Historical Considerations," n. 26.

[23] Uchmani, *People and Roots*, 14; Jibly, *Neighborhood and Conflict*, 61.

[24] *ANET*, 235; Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 424.

[25] Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, nos. 33-32.

[26] Site nos. 104, 94-95 in Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, in this order.

[27] Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, site no. 37.

[28] Krassel, *Judah and Jerusalem*, 110-13; translated from the Hebrew by the author.

[29] Conder and Kitchener, *Map of Western Palestine*, sheet VIII, Jl-Kk.

20th century). Meiron and Kabha,[30] having collected traditions about Wadi 'Arah, write:

> Wadi al-Muraba'at (=Samantar), between Baqa and Barta'ah, was a short way from the north of the country to Tulkarm. Some robbers used to attack the trade caravans there.

The Thutmose III Annals raise another problem. The council of the king takes place in Yehem, but the generals use the term "here in Arunah,"[31] which contradicts the location at Yehem.[32] Nelson saw the inconsistency but did not solve it.[33] His idea that it was a simple mistake hardly stands. We suggest that the description of the narrow road relates to Wadi Samantar, and the two parts of the text have been mixed. The council began indeed in Yehem, and then the army moved through the pass of Samantar; so they describe what they saw *already* in the immediate past, probably to warn the king from continuing.[34]

This notion becomes more clear when comparing two texts of the Arunah Pass – of Thutmose and Hori (Papyrus Anastasi I). While the first speaks of a narrow path only, the latter describes steep slopes and thick forest from both sides of the pass, together with other frightful dangers.

The text of Hori speaks as follows:

> Behold, the *ambuscade* is in a *ravine* two thousand cubits deep, filled with boulders and pebbles. Thou makest a *detour*, as thou graspest the bow. Thou makest a *feint* to thy left, that thou mightest make the chiefs to see (but) (5) their eyes are good and thy hand *falters*. "*Abata kama ir, mahir ne'am*!" (Thus) thou makest a name for every *mahir*, officers of Egypt! Thy name become like (that of) Qazardi, the Chief of Aser, when the bear found him in the balsam tree.
>
> The narrow valley is dangerous with Bedouin, hidden under the bushes. Some of them are four or five cubits *(from) their noses to the heel*, and fierce of face. Their hearts are not mild, and they do not listen to wheedling. Thou art alone; there is no *messenger* with thee, no army host behind thee.[35]

The differences between the two

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30 Meiron and Kabha, *The Legends of the Wadi*, 119-20; translated from the Hebrew by the author.

31 *ANET*, 235, (30); Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 425 (32).

32 In his thorough analysis of the topographical and historical circumstances of Thutmose III's 1st campaign Mizrachy (*Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 118-25), although repeating the term "here in Arunah," does not deal with this interesting issue.

33 Nelson, *The Battle of Megiddo*, n. 20 in *ANET*, 235.

34 The mixture of events that happened in different times is very common in Egyptian art; *cf.* for example the camp of Ramesses II in the battle of Kadesh (Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, pl. on 156) where events different in time occur together.

35 *ANET*, 477; translated by J.A. Wilson.

descriptions are clear. While Thutmose does not mention high slopes at all, something one could surely expect, Hori concentrates on them; in Thutmose's time no danger of Bedouins, or other tribes or names of enemies, is mentioned; Hori, on the contrary, is very afraid of groups such as the children of Aser with their leader Qazardi.[36] It can be concluded therefor, that the two texts speak about different places and different situations.

Yet what is the reality behind each of the narratives, 200 years apart?

First, the path of Samantar has no cliffs or slopes, which suits well the Thutmose text between Yehem and Arunah; secondly, in the 15th century BCE the pass is completely unsettled, as emerges also from the survey.[37] The "foe" of Thutmose is waiting only outside the pass toward Megiddo,[38] with no clue as to the dangers along it. The generals of Thutmose complain mainly about the problem of not using the whole Egyptian force, because of the narrowness of the road.

In the second case, the letter of Hori, the reality changes sharply. The topography is narrow with high slopes; the area is full with hostile populaces or tribes, who wait for the passengers. Only the name – Megiddo or Arunah Pass – and the thick vegetation are common to both.

In addition, the Hori letter must relate to a different section of the pass, with high and narrow topography. Since no other part of the pass suiting this description has been mentioned, nor do they exist along the road, we suggest a new candidate, discovered during the survey. This is the 2-3 km long, deep Wadi Bu'eineh, which continues Wadi 'Arah to the east and exits to the plains of Jezreel near modern Zalafeh[39] (Map 2). It is a narrow wadi, surrounded by steep slopes with thick vegetation. Exactly like Hori's words.

Historically and ethnically speaking, the area in the 13th century BCE was completely changed. A concentration of 10-12 Iron Age I sites have been surveyed in the vicinity of the pass.[40] It was populated not only by these "new" sites but, above all, the town of el-Ahwat was founded.

This town, discovered in 1992 and excavated from 1993 to 2000,[41]

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[36] Avi-Yonah ("Asher," 783) discuss the possibility that the name "Qazardi" is West Semitic in origin.

[37] Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, 45 and map 17.

[38] Mizrachy, *Egyptian Foreign Policy in the Levant*, 425 (28).

[39] The present asphalt road (n. 65) turns left and ascends to the hill, leaving the ancient road in the wadi.

[40] Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, 46-47 and map 18.

[41] *Cf.* Zertal, "Ahwat, el-"; Zertal, *Sisera's Secret* and now the final report, Zertal, *El-*

is a heavily fortified settlement, 30,000 sq m in area. It is a short-lived site, dating approximately between 1220-1160 BCE. The city was divided by inner walls into "quarters" A-E,[42] with a city gate and a "governor's house" in quarter A. The rich collection of small finds includes Egyptian and Egyptianized scarabs, with one bearing the royal name of Ramesses III; different seals; an ibex ivory head, part of an elegant vessel; a head of a bronze linchpin of an Egyptian (?) chariot, *etc*.

The site of el-Ahwat is exceptional by several elements: it is the only fortified city founded on virgin soil during the Iron Age I in the southern Levant; it has architectural elements alien to Canaan of the period: corridors in the city wall, round stone built huts, a furnace for iron forging, *etc*. This combination led the excavators to suggest a foreign origin for the settlers, probably Nuraghic Sardinia. If so, it was the Sherden (*Šrdn*) of the Egyptian texts who may have been settling the site, presumably as a fort under Egyptian rule in the beginning.[43]

Back to the "Bedouins" of Hori, it has long been suggested that the name "Aser" may relate to families of the Israelite tribe Asher, whose people were most scattered among the tribes.[44] It can be surmised now that those sites in the vicinity of the Arunah Pass, a basically Manassite territory, included also Asherite families. The mercenaries/robbers of el-Ahwat may be easily added to these gangs.

The Campaign of Shishak

Our interest in Shishak's list concerns the order of the sites along the pass of Arunah. This order is not at all agreed upon, which has resulted in different views on how to arrange the sites.[45] Here again, as in Thutmose's list, there are no stations on the south-north road between Burin (Baqa el-

Ahwat, A Fortified Site.

[42] Zertal, *El-Ahwat, A Fortified Site*, figs. 2.1, 2.2.

[43] On these "forts" *cf.* Papyrus Harris I – *ANET*, 262 and Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, 293* and II, 265*; for the Shardana *cf.* Loretz, "Les Šerdanu et la fin d'Ugarit"; for el-Ahwat and its interpretations *cf.* Zertal, *Sisera's Secret*, 226-61 and *El-Ahwat, A Fortified Site*, 408-21; Ugas, "El-Ahwat e gli Shardana nel Vicino Oriente." Prof. Giovanni Ugas of the Cagliari University, Sardinia, is an expert on Sardinian archaeology. He also took part in the excavations of el-Ahwat. In his article Prof. Ugas analyzes the Sardinian elements at the site.

[44] *ANET*, 477, n. 42; Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 162; Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* I, 193* and II, 265*; Avi-Yonah, "Asher", 783-84; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 51.

[45] *Cf.* Simons, *Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists*, 89-101; Mazar, *Canaan and Israel, Historical Essays*, 236; Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 323-27.

Gharbiyeh)[46] and Arunah.[47] On the other hand, between Megiddo and Arunah there are no less than four stations in the list: (28) *adr* (Adar); (29) *id-hmlk* (Yad-Hamelech?); (30) --- (31) *hnm* (Honim?).[48]

The problem is this: from Megiddo to Arunah not one Iron Age candidate for those stations is known,[49] whereas along the 13 km long Samantar road there are three good sites with early Iron Age II pottery of the 10th century BCE. These are, from south-west to north-east: 1. Khirbet Isyar (A), n. 104 in the survey; 2. Khirbet Umm edh-Dhiyab (n. 94); and 3. Khirbet Mahu (n. 95) (Map 2). All three, located upon, or near, the road, have Iron Age I and II shards. There are also some clues for possible name preservation. Ader or Adar (n. 28 of Shishak) may have been preserved in the name "el-Medwar" near Khirbet Mahu.[50] Although the name is Arabic (meaning "the round"), it also suits Kampffmeyer's rules of name preservation.[51] The other, *hnm* or Honim (n. 31 of Shishak), may have been preserved in the strange place name Mahwah (today Mahu). In this case, the "n" has been deleted, and the order of the consonants changed in the rest of the name (*hnm=hm=mh*).[52] Be these new identifications correct or not, the archaeological reality better suits a different order of Shishak's list-reading.

What is the Meaning of the Pass?

In a previous paper I have discussed the psychological significance of the Arunah Pass.[53] Against the "classic" opinion about its importance, we have suggested that the pass was above all a "test" for the courage of the kings (or others). For trade and regular use, it seems that the caravans used the southern pass, that of the Dothan Valley, and not the dangerous and narrow Arunah road.

To understand this notion, the answer of Thutmose to his generals emphasizes his courage.[54] He shows

[46] Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, site no. 122.

[47] Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, site no. 13.

[48] Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 325; Mazar, *Canaan and Israel, Historical Essays*, 234-42.

[49] Mazar, *Canaan and Israel, Historical Essays*, 239; Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, maps 18-19.

[50] Conder and Kitchener, *Map of Western Palestine*, sheet VIII, Kl. n.4 in Map 2.

[51] Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 111-18.

[52] *Cf.* for instance *arbt* [biblical Arubboth], replaced by *nrbt* [Narbata of *Wars* II, 291 and II, 509; for the name *cf.* Zertal and Mirkam, *The Manasseh Hill-Country Survey* III, 80-82]. Here, the "n" was added to the name, which otherwise remained unchanged (and *cf.* Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 111-18).

[53] Zertal, "The 'Iron Pass'."

[54] *ANET*, 235, (40-50).

that, in spite of the difficulties, he will take the dangerous road. Wilson, in his introduction to Hori's letter, writes (*ANET,* 475): "Hori responded in a lofty and sarcastic vein, attempting to expose the weaknesses in his correspondent's qualifications for office." He did it by using different means, one of which was to show the courage needed for the Arunah road.

Secondly, had this pass been in regular use, it should have been mentioned in most or all the New Kingdom diaries and other sources. And yet, Amenhotep II, for instance, along others, does not use it.[55]

Moreover, this pass is not among the many roads mentioned in the Hebrew Bible; it was only during the Roman Period that a road was established and paved there, when Hadrian built the camp of the 6th Legion at Legio,[56] near Megiddo, and connected it to the capital city of Caesarea Maritima on the Mediterranean coast.

Based upon several historical sources, it can be suggested that the southern road, which goes into the Jezreel Valley through Jenin or Wadi Hasan, was used more regularly than the Arunah one (Genesis 37:25; *Wars* II: 284, 510).[57] In the Medieval and Mamluk Periods, the Jenin-Qaqun road became most important, especially as the mail-road that led from Damascus to Cairo, and was used also in the Ottoman Period.[58] Among all these periods, no mention is made for the Arunah Pass.

Abbreviations

ANET Pritchard, J.B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Related to the Old Testament*. 3rd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.

Wars Josephus, F. *The Jewish Wars*. London: Penguin, 1978.

Urk. IV Sethe, K. and W. Helck. *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.* Leipzig: J.C. Hinrics; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1906-1955.

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[55] Na'aman, "Topographical and Historical Considerations."

[56] Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine*, 74-75

[57] Conder and Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, Vol. II, 50; Albright, "Some Archaeological and Topographical Results," 10; Zertal, "The Roman Road Caesarea."

[58] Volney, *Voyage en Syrie et en Égypte*, 33-34; Tschelebi, *Eretz-Israel in the Seventeenth Century*, 34; Sezgin, *Islamic Geography*, 33-38.

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